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PROSPECTUS  
OF THE  
**THEOLOGICAL CRITIC,**  
A QUARTERLY JOURNAL,

EDITED BY THE REV.

**THOMAS KERCHEVER ARNOLD, M.A.**

RECTOR OF LYNDON,  
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE principal object I have in view in editing this Journal is the furtherance of Biblical Criticism :—a most important branch of Theological Literature, which has been of late years all but entirely neglected in England.

The Journal will embrace Theology in the widest acceptation of the term, as comprehending the Criticism of the Sacred Text, Ecclesiastical Biography, the History of Natural and Revealed Religion, the History and Criticism of Dogmatic Theology, the History and Constitution of the Church, and the Constitution, Discipline, and Doctrines of particular Churches, and of Dissenting and Heretical Communities. The kindred subjects of Morality and Polity will also be occasionally introduced ; and, from its importance to Biblical Criticism, even Classical Literature will not be entirely excluded. I am very anxious to give the Work a *permanent* value, by so arranging the subjects discussed, that in the course of a few years nearly all the Doctrines of primary importance, especially those which are still agitated in the controversies that disturb the peace and destroy the visible unity of the Church, may have received a full discussion in its pages.

In using the abundant and valuable treasures of German Theology, it will be my endeavour to introduce *nothing*—except for refutation or warning—that cannot stand the test of sound criticism, as both founded and conducted on the principles of Christian *Faith*. In publishing my name as the responsible Editor of the Work, I give a pledge that I shall not willingly and intentionally allow any article or statement to appear in its pages in violation of Christian charity, candour, or courtesy.

T. K. A.

RIVING

ND WATERLOO PLACE.





**600093283V**

THE  
**PHILIPPIC ORATIONS**  
OF  
**DEMOSTHENES,**

WITH

ENGLISH NOTES.

EDITED BY

THOMAS KERCHEVER ARNOLD, M.A.  
RECTOR OF LYNDON,  
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



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## PREFACE.

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THIS edition contains the whole of F. Jacobs's notes to his translation of the "Staatsreden :" I am indebted for them to my friend and coadjutor, the Rev. R. B. Paul, M.A., formerly Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford, now Canon *designate* of the proposed Cathedral of Canterbury, in New Zealand. The other notes are selected principally from Franke's excellent and very copious commentary. Westermann's edition did not reach me till the notes upon the two first Orations were printed. His selection of annotations is very judicious, but he has seldom any cause to dissent from Franke. I have often followed either one or both of these commentators, even where, from having made some slight alteration in the mode of statement, or from having taken *something* from *each*, I have not been able to affix the name of either to my note.

---

*Schäf.* or *Sch.* = Schäfer.

*Rek.* = Reiske.

*V.* = Vömel.

*F.* = Franke.

*Wst.* = Westermann.

*C.* = Champlin.

*JN.* = *join* the words in the  
following order, in con-  
struing the passage.

The grammatical references are :

- 1) to the Editor's larger Greek Grammar.
- 2) to smaller Gr. Gr. [in ( )].
- 3) to Mr. Jelf's Kühner (with § prefixed).

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## ERRATA.

Page 24, line 23, for ἵξελέγκονται read ἵξελέγχονται  
,, 27, ,, 36, for οὐκ ἔξετε read οὐχ ἔξετε

# ORATIONES PHILIPPICÆ.

## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

### ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Κακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι συνεληλύθασιν εἰς ἐκκησίαν ἀθυμοῦντες. Ὁ τοίνυν ρήτωρ τὴν τε ἀθυμίαν πειρᾶται πάσιν, λέγων οὐδὲν μίναι θαυμαστὸν εἰ φθυμοῦντες εἰκράτηγοτα, καὶ εἰσῆγεῖται πᾶς ἀν ἄριστα τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖν. Κελεύει δὴ δύο δυνάμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μεῖζων, πολιτικήν, ἥτις οἵκοι μένουσα πρὸς τὰς κατὰς καιρὸν χρείας ἔτοιμος ὑπάρξει, ἔτεραν δὲ ἡλάττῳ, ξένων δοτῶν τῶν στρατευομένων, παραμειγμένων δὲ . . . . . κελεύει τὴν δύναμιν μὴ Ἀθήνησον μένειν μηδὲ ἐπ τῆς πόλεως τοιεῖσθαι τὰς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφεσθαι πολεμοῦσαν ἀδιαλείπτως, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἀτησίας πυνθωνούσας ἐπιτηρήσας ἡ καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἡνίκα Ἀθῆναις εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλεῖν οὖν δυνατόν, ἴπιχειρῆ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων κρατῆ, ἀλλ' ἐγγές ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτακομάνη δύναμις ὑπάρχῃ.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προτίθετο ὡς ἄνδρες 1 Ἀθηναῖοι λέγειν, ἐπισχῶν ἀν ἔως οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν εἰωθότων Δ γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, εἰ μὲν ἡρεσκέ τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ρῆθεντων, ἡσυχίαν ἀν ἤγον, εἰ δὲ μή, τοτὲ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἀ γεγγώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὅν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἥγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἀν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. Εἰ γάρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἀν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον ὡς ἄνδρες 2 Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς 2 παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ εἰ πάνυ φαιλῶς ἔχειν δοκεῖ. Ὁ δὲ γάρ ἔστι χειριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. Τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; διτε οὐδὲν ὡς ἄνδρες 2 Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν δεόντων τοιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχειν, ἐπει τοι εἰ πάνθ' ἀ προσῆκε πραττόντων οὕτως εἴχειν, οὐδὲ ἀλπὶς ἥντις αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. "Ἐπειτα ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἀλλων ἀκούσουσι καὶ

Δ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμιμνησκομένοις, ἡλίκην ποτ' ἔχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὐ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, ὃς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων τὸν πρός ἐκείνους πόλεμον. Τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσθω διτὶ οὐδὲν οὕτε φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἔστι φοβερὸν οὗτ', ἀν ὅλιγωρῆτε, τοιοῦτον οἶον ἀν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τῇ τότε ρώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἃς ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὑβρει τούτου, δι' ἣν ταρατόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν  
 B ἢν ἔχῃς. Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δυστολέμητον οἴεται τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι, σκοπῶν τὸ τε πλήθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, ὅρθως μὲν οἴεται, λογισάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ', διτὶ εἴχομέν ποτε ὑμεῖς ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι Πύδναν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οἰκείον κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνουν νῦν δυτῶν ἔθυῶν αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὑπῆρχε καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως ἡ κείνωφ. Εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταῦτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, ὃς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἔστιν Ἀθηναῖοις ἔχουσι τοσαῦτα ἐπι-  
 C τειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον δύτα συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἀν ὧν νυνὶ τεκούσκεν ἐπράξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. Ἄλλ' εἰδεν ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκείνοις, διτὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἀπαντα τὰ χωρία ἀθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δὲ ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλοντι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων. Καὶ γάρ τοι ταῦτη χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀν ἐλών τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἀπαντες, οὓς ἀν δρῶσι  
 D παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας δὲ χρή. "Αν τοίνυν ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης τοῦν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἔκαστος ὑμῶν, οὐ δέ καὶ δύναιτ' ἀν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, πᾶσαν ἀφεὶς τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἔτοιμος πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ, ὃ μὲν χρήματα ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, δὲ ἐν ἡλικᾳ στρατεύεσθαι,— συνελόντι δὲ πλῶς ἦν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι καὶ παύσθωτε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδεν ἔκαστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθε, ἀν θεός θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κιτερέφθυμημένα πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε, κάκελην τιμωρήσεσθε. Μὴ γάρ ὡς θεῷ νομίζετ'

έκεινῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Αμιστῆς τις ἔκεινον καὶ δέδιεν ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ φίλοι νοεῖ, καὶ τῶν πάνυ γῦν δοκούντων οἰκεῖως ἔχειν· καὶ ἀπανθ' ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἔνι, ταῦτα κάν τοῖς μετ' ἔκεινον χρὴ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. Κατέπτηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀκοστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτήτα καὶ δραθυμίαν, ἦν ἀποθέσθαι φημὶ δεῖν ἥδη. Ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἀνθρώποις, διὸ οὐδὲ αἴρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἀγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὡς φασι, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἶος ἐστιν ἔχων ἀ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, Βάλλεται τι προσπειβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῷ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους περιστοιχίζεται. Πότ' οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πότε ἀ χρὴ πράξετε; ἐπειδὰν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὰν νὴ Δὲ ἀνάγκη ἡ. Νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγείσθατε; ἔγω μὲν γὰρ οἴομαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπέρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην είναι. Ἡ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περιώντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· λέγεται τι καίνον; γένοιτο γὰρ ἀν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίους καρατολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μά Δέ. Ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ; τι δὲ ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ σ γὰρ ἀν οὐτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἔτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἀν περ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηίξηται δσον παρὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο· εἰ τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῶν, ἡ περ ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔκεργάσατο, ἵσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, δπασιν ἀν τοῖς πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες δπως βούλεσθε διοικήσαισθε, ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε, οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέκασθαι δύναισθ' ἀν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις.

Ὦς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν 3 ἀπαντας ἐτοίμας, ὡς ἔγυνωκτων ὑμῶν. καὶ πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς ἦν ἀπαλλάξαι ἀν τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς οἴομαι, καὶ τὸ πλήθος δσον, καὶ πόρους οὖστινας χρημάτων, καὶ τόλλα ὡς ἀν μοι βέλτεστα καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσσομαι λέγειν, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοσοῦτον. Ἐπειδὰν ἀπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μη πρότερον προλαμβάνετε· μηδὲ ἀν ἔξι ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινα καινὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με τὰ πράγματα ἡγείσθω. Οὐ γὰρ οἱ

**Α** χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐκὶ τὸν πόλεμον. Οὐ γὰρ ἔχρην ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἵππαρχον παρ' ὑμῶν, ἀρχοντας οἰκείους εἶναι, ἵν' ἡνὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Δῆμον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἵππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῷν δὲ ὑπέρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μεγέλασον ἵππαρχεῖν; καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὡφὲ ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, δοτις ἀνὴν.

**6** "Ισως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὄφεις ἡγεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι. **β** Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω. Χρήματα τοίνυν, ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρός δέκα μὲν ναυτα ταχείας τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν μναῖ τοῦ μηνὸς ἑκάστου, στρατιώτας δὲ δισχιλίους τοσαῦθ' ἔτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δὲ ἵππεῦσι διακοσίοις οὖσιν, ἐὰν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἔκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνός, δώδεκα τάλαντα. Εἰ δέ τις οἰεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι, σιτηρέσιον τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὄφθως ἔγγωνεν" ἔγω γὰρ οἶδα σαφῶς δτι, τοῦτ' ἀνὴν γένηται, προσπορεῖ τὰ σ λοιπὰ αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὅστις ἔχειν μισθὸν ἔντελθ. "Ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελοῦτῆς πάσχειν ὅτιον ἔτοιμος, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦθ' οὐτις ἔχῃ. Πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων, ἢ παρ'

ὑμῶν κελεύων γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' ηδη λέξω.

### ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

**7** "Α' μὲν ἡμεῖς ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δεδυνήμεθα εὑρεῖν, ταῦτα ἔστιν" ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας, ἀνὴν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκει, χειροτονήσετε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμήτης Φιλίππων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

**8** Δοκέετε δέ μοι τολὺ βέλτιον ἀν τερὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅλης δ τῆς ταρασκευῆς βουλεύσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς χώρας, πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθεῖτε, καὶ λογίσαισθε δτι τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς δραις τοῦ ἔτοντος τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἡ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥντις ἀνὴν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκεῖσε ἀφιέσθαι. Δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείας πολεμεῖν (ὑστεροιούμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων) ἀλλὰ ταρασκευῆ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. "Υπάρχει δὲ ὑμῖν χειμαδίψ μὲν χρῆ-

οθαί τῇ δυνάμει Δῆμρῳ καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σιάδῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ θήσους, ἐν αἷς καὶ λαμένες καὶ στος καὶ ἀ χρήστραγεύματι πάντῃ ἑπάρχει· τὴν δὲ οἴραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι βάσιον καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι ῥῷδίως ἔσται.

“Α μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν 9 ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστάς ἡνὶ ὑμῶν βουλεύεται· ἀ δὲ ἐπάρκει δεῖ ταρφὸν ὑμῶν, ταῦτην ἐστὶν ἀ ἕγω γέγραφα. “Ληταὶ δὲ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πορίσητε τὰ χρήματα πρώτον ἀ λέγω, εἴτα καὶ τέλλα παρασκευάσατες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τρίμερες, εἰς τοὺς ἵππους, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοῦ ταμίαις καὶ πορισταῖς γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ζητοῦντες, παθεσθεῖς δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδέποτε ποιῶντες, καὶ ἐτί πρὸς τούτῳ πρώτον μὲν ἀ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου τόρου ἀφαρήσοθε. “Ἐστι δὲ οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑμετέρων ὑμίν πολεμεῖ συμμάχων, ἄγων καὶ φίρων τοὺς πλέοντας τὴν θάλασσαν. “Ἐπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ εἰκὼς ἔχω γενήσοθε, οὐχ ὅπερ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Δῆμρον καὶ Ἰμβρὸν ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους φέρει ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ τὰ τλοῦ συλλαβθὲν ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἔξελει, τὰ τελευταῖα εἰς Μαραθόνα ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ιερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας φέρει ἔχων τράχη, ὥμεις δὲ σύτε ταῦτα δύνασθε κωλέων οὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, οὐδὲ ἀν τροπήσθε, βοηθεῖν. Καίτοι τί δῆ τοτε, ἀ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παναθηναϊών ἱρότην καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἀεὶ τοῦ καθηκότος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι, ἀν τοις δειπνοῖς λέχωντις ἀν τε λέιτους οἱ τούτων ἐκατέρων ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἀ τοσαῦτ' ἀγαλλιστεῖν χρήματα δόσα οὐδὲ εἰς ἔνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσούτον δύχον καὶ παρασκευὴν δοῦρην οὐδὲ οὐδὲ εἰ τὸ τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δὲ ἀποστόλους τάπατας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεδόνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν; ὅτι ἐκείνα μὲν ἀπατατα τόμῳ τέτασται, καὶ πρόσθεν ἐκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χρηπογός ἡ γυμνοσίαρχος τῆς φυλῆς, πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τίνα λαβθότα τί δεῖ τοεῖν οὐδέποτε ἀνεξέταστον οὐδὲ ἀφίστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμεληται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου παρασκευῇ ἀπατατα ἀδιόρθωτα ἀφίστατα. Τοιγαροῦν δια αἰκιδόμεν τι καὶ τριπάρχοντας καθισταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀγιτιδοεις ποιούμενα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πόρου σκο-

Λ γίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου τολμῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνδρακοδιστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν θάνατον μᾶλλον αἴροῦνται τοῦ προσήκοντος· κακούργου μὲν γάρ ἐστι κριθέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμοῖς. Ἡμῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν περιώντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπῆν, οἱ δὲ ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάτοντες ἔκαστος περιερχόμεθα. Ἔγὼ δὲ οἶμαι μέν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνους μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γυνώμῃ, τὴν τ' ἑρημίαν τῶν κωλυσόντων ὄρῶντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπηρέμενοι, οὐ μέστοι γε μὰ Δέ σύντονο προαιρεῖσθαι πράττειν, ώστε τὸν ἀνοητογάτον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. Ἄλλ' ἐὰν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶμεν, δτὶ ἔχθρὸς δυνθρωτὸς καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἥβρικε, καὶ δικανθ' ὅσα πώποτε ἡλπίσαμεν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὑρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστι, κανὶ μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἵσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γάρ ἀττα ποτ' ἐσται δεῖ σκοτεῖν, ἀλλ' δτι φαῦλ', ἀν μὴ προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητ', εν εἰδέναι.

12 Ἔγὼ μὲν οὖν σού' ἀλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν, δτι ἀν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν πεπεισμένος ὡς, νῦν τε δὲ γιγνώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρρήσιασμαι. Ἐβουλόμην δὲν, ώστερ δτι ὑμῖν συμφέρει τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὔτως εἰδέναι συνοίσουν καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντες πολλῷ γάρ ἀν ἥδιον εἴπον. Νῦν δὲ ἐπ' ἀδήλοις οὖσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαντῷ γενησομένοις, δρως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν, ἐὰν πράξῃτε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἴροῦμαι. Νικψη δὲ τι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

## ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ.

### ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Μητρούμενον τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως εἰρήνης ἐκεῖνην πολέμῳ φερόμενοι, δὲ Φιλιππος βουλόμενος ἀντέσχετο Θετταλοῖς τε καὶ Θηβαιοῖς ἐπιτελέσαι. Τοπέσχετο δὲ τοῖς μὲν Θηβαιοῖς Ὁρχομενὸν παράδοσιν καὶ Κορώνειαν, πόλεις Βοιωτίας, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ τὸν Φωκικὸν καταλόγου τόλμον. Τοῦτο δὲ ἡν διδύματον αὐτῷ πολεμίων δυτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ γάρ πρότερον βουληθεῖς εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα τῶν Ἀθηναίων πειρικλευσάντων ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὰς κολουμίνας Πύλας, ὑπὲν δὲ Θερμοπύλας, ἀπεκωλύθη τῆς εἰσόδου. Νῦν τοίνυν εἰρήνην ποιησάμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, μηδενὸς εὐλόγους παρελθόντος εἰς Πειλᾶν, τὸ Φωκίων ἔθνος ἀναστατών πεποίησε, καὶ τὴν Φωκίων ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφιτύνοσι χώραν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ψήφους παρὰ τῶν ἀλλων Ἑλλήνων εἰληφε. Πέπομφε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, ἀξιῶν καὶ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν. Καὶ δημοσθένης παρατεῖ συγχωρεῖν, οὐ τῷ πράγματι συνιστάμενος ὡς ὅρδος ἔχοντι, οὐδὲ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγεντα μετέχειν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνεδρίου τὸν Μακεδόνα, ἀλλὰ δεδίνειν φάσκων μὴ καταναγκασθῶντι, κοινὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἄπαντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔχειν. Προσεκρουόντες γάρ λέγει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀλλοιούς δὲ ἀλλας τινὰς αἵτιας, τούτους δὲ κοινὴ πολεμήσοντες, εἰ αὐτοῖς δύσομεν, φορί, κοινὴν αἵτιαν ταῦτην καθ' ἡμῶν, δτο μόνον τοῖς τῶν Ἀμφιτύνοντων ἐνιστάμεθα δόγμασιν, ὥστε κάλλιον τὴν εἰρήνην τηρεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα Φιλίππου παρελθόντος εἰς Πειλᾶν καὶ ἐπελθεῖν δυναμένου τῷ Ἀττικῷ, ἢ περὶ μικροῦ τηλικῦτον κίνδυνον ἄρασθαι.

Οὗτος δὲ ὁ λόγος παρεσκευάθων μέν, οὐ μὴν εἰρῆσθαι μοι δοκεῖ. Κατηγορῶν γάρ δὴ τῷτορ Λίσχίνου καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων αὐτοῦ διαβάλλει, ὅτι συνεβούλευε Φιλίππου Ἀμφιτύνοντα εἰναι ψηφίσασθαι, μηδενὸς ἀλλού τολμῶντος τοῦτο εἰσηγήσασθαι, μηδὲ Φιλοκράτους τοῦ πάντων ἀναδεστάτους. Οὐκ ἀγ οὐν αὐτὸς περὶ τούτων συμβεβούλευκώς τὸν Λίσχίνην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς διμόλλεν, ἀλλὰ δηλούντι τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἔδεισε, μηδέξῃ φιλιππίζειν καὶ χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πεισθεῖς τοιαύτην γνώμην ἀποφήνασθαι, ἵτει καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τοιαύτην τινὰ ὑπόνοιαν ιστάμενος φαίνεται, συνιστάς ἰαυτὸν ὡς εὗνουν τῷ πόλει καὶ ἀδωροδόκητον.

‘Ορῶ μέν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ παρόντα πράγματα πολ- 1 λὴν δυσκολίαν ἔχοντα καὶ ταραχὴν οὐ μόνον τῷ πολλὰ προέσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι προῦργου περὶ αὐτῶν εὐ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων κατὰ ταῦτα μηδὲ καθ' ἐν τὸ συμφέρον πάντας ἡγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὡδὶ τοῖς δὲ ἐτέρως δοκεῖν δυσκόλου δὲ οὗτος φύσει καὶ χαλεποῦ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι,

**Α** ἔτι πολλῷ χαλεπώτερον ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν πεποιήκατε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνθρώποι πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλεύεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμβαίνει παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον δὴ οὐδὲ ἐγώ, τὸν μὲν οὓς ἀνὴρ ἀμάρτητε ἐπιτιμῶντα εἰδοκιμεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν, τὰ δὲ πράγματα καὶ περὶ ἡνὸν βουλευεσθεῖν ἀκφεύγειν ὑμᾶς. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ τούτων οὗτως ἔχόντων οἵματα—καὶ πεπεικὼς ἔμαυτὸν ἀνέστηκα,—ἀντὶ ἐθελήσητε τοῦ θορυβεῖν καὶ φλογεικεῖν ἀποστάντες ἀκούειν, ὡς ὑπὲρ πόλεως βουλευομένοις καὶ τηλικούτῳ πραγμάτων προσήκει, ἔξειν καὶ **Β** λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν δι' ᾧ καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἔσται βελτίω καὶ τὰ προειμένα σωθῆσται.

**2** Ἀκριβῶς δὲ εἰδὼς ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ λέγειν περὶ ἡνὸν αὐτὸς εἰπέ τις καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ τῶν πάντων λυσιτελούντων τοῖς τολμῶσιν ὅν, οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι φορτικὸν καὶ ἐπαχθὲς ὅστε ἀνάγκην οὖσαν ὄρῶν ὑμᾶς ἀποκυῶ. Νομίζω δὲ ἀμεινον ἀντὶ οὐδὲς περὶ ᾧ νῦν ἐρῶ κρίναι, μικρὰ τῶν πρότερον ποτε ῥηθέντων ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μνημονεύσαντας. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτον μέν, ηνίκ' ἐπειθον ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πραγμάτων ταραττομένων βοηθεῖν Πλουστάρχῳ καὶ **C** πόλεμον ἀδοξον καὶ δαπανηρὸν ἄρασθαι, πρῶτος καὶ μόνος παρελθὼν ἀντεῖπον καὶ μόνον οὐ διεσπάσθην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ μικροῖς λήμμασι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀμαρτάνειν ὑμᾶς πεισάντων· καὶ χρόνου βραχέος διελθόντος, μετὰ τοῦ προσφολεῖν αἰσχύνην καὶ παθεῖν οἰα τῶν οὗτων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένες πώποτε πετόνθασιν ὑπὸ τούτων οὓς ἐβοήθησαν, πάντες ὑμεῖς ἔγνωτε τὴν τε τῶν τότε πεισάντων κακίαν καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰρηκότα ἔμε. Πάλιν τοινυν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατιδῶν Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ' ἀδείας, κακὰ δ' ἐργαζόμενον τὰ μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ **D** παρ' ὑμῶν διοικοῦντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυγανεύοντα, παρελθὼν εἴπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὐδεμίας ἤδιας οὐτ' ἔχθρας οὔτε συκοφαντίας ἔνεκεν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔργων γέγονε δῆλον. Καὶ οὐκέτ' ἐν τούτοις αἰτιάσομαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ Νεοπτολέμου λέγοντας (οὐδὲ εἰς γὰρ ἦν) ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς· εἰ γὰρ ἐν Διονύσου πραγμάδον ἐθεάσασθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ σωτηρίας καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἀν οὗτως οὐτ' ἔκείνου πρὸς χάριν οὐτ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν ἡκούσατε. Καίτοι τοῦτό γε ὑμᾶς οἴμαι γῦν ἀπαντας ἥσθησθαι, διτὶ τὴν τότ' ἄφιξιν εἰς τους πολεμίους ἐποιήσατο ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάκει χρήματ' ὀφειλόμενα, ὡς ἔφη, κομίσας δεῦρο λειτουργεῖν· καὶ τοῦτῷ τῷ λόγῳ πλείστῳ

χρησάμενος, ως δειγμὸν εἴ τις ἐγκαλεῖ τοῖς ἑκεῖθεν ἐνθάδε τὰς Λεύκοριας ἀγονιστιν, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀδείας ἔτυχεν, θὺν ἐνθάδε ἐκέστητο οὐσίαν φανεράν, ταῦτην ἔξαργυρίσας πρὸς ἑκείνον ἀπάγων σύχεται. Διὸ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡν τροεῖτον ἔγώ, μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς γεγενημένοις λόγοις, ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, οἴτα περ ἦν, ἀποφαθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ τρίτον δ', ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· καὶ μόνον ἐν τοῦτον εἰπὼν ἔτι καὶ δὴ περὶ ἡν παρελήλυθα ἔρω· ἡνίκα τοὺς δρόκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπειληφότες ἤκομεν οἱ πρέσβεις, τότε Θεσπιάς τινων καὶ Σλαταιάς ὑπισχνουμένων οἰκισθήσοθαι καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας τὸν Φιλιππον, ἀντί γένηται κύριος, σώσειν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων πόλιν βιδοικεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ὀρφωνὸν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξειν, καὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἄντ' Ἀρμιτόλεως ἀποδοθήσοθαι, καὶ τοιαύτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φενακισμούς, οἵτις ἐπαχθέντες ὑμεῖς οὗτε συμφόρως οὕτ' οἵσως καλῶς προεῖσθε Φωκέας, οὐδὲν τούτων οὕτ' ἔξαπατήσας οὗτε σιγήσας ἔγω φαίσθουμαι, ἀλλὰ προειπὼν ὑμῖν, ως οἴδ' ὅτι μνημονεύετε, ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτε οἶδα οὕτε προσδοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ τὸν λέγοντα ληρεῖν.

Ταῦτα τοίνυν διπλωθ', δσα φαίνομαι βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων 3 προσφῶν, οὐδὲ εἰς μίαν ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτε δεινότητα οὗτε ἀλαζούσειαν ἐπανοίσω, οὐδὲ προστοιχίσομαι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο σ γιγνώσκειν καὶ πραιτοθάνεσθαι πλὴν δι' αὐτὸν ὑμῖν εἰπώ, δύο· ἐν μέν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δι' εὐτυχίαν, ήν συμπάσης ἔγω τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὖσης δεινότητος καὶ σοφίας ὁρῶ κρατοῦσαν, ἔτερον δέ, προϊκα τὰ πράγματα κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν λῆμμ' ἀν οὐδεὶς ἔχω πρὸς οἵτις ἔγω πεπολίτευμας καὶ λέγω δεῖξαι προσηργμένον. Ὁρθὸν οὖν, δι τι ἄν ποτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρχῃ τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ συμφέρον φαίνεται μοι. "Οταν δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα ὕστερον εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσενέγκης, σύχεται φέρον καὶ καθείλκυκε τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ' αὐτό, καὶ οὐκ ἄν ἐτέλεσθαι οὐδὲ ὑγιῶς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς σ λογίσατο.

"Ἐν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν φημὶ δεῖν, ὅπως εἴτε 4 συμμάχονς εἴτε σύνταξιν εἴτ' ἄλλο βούλεται τις κατασκευάζειν τῷ πόλει, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην μὴ λύων τοῦτο ποιήσει, οὐχ ως θαυμαστὴν οὐδὲ ως ἀξίαν οὖσαν ὑμῶν ἀλλ' ὅποια τίς ποτ' ἔστιν αὐτῇ, μὴ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον εἶχε τοῖς πράγμασι καιρὸν η γεγενημένην νῦν δι' ἡμᾶς λυθῆναι· πολλὰ γάρ προϊέμεθα, ὡν ὑπαρχόντων τότε ἀν η νῦν ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ ῥάων ήν ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος. Δεύτερον δέ, ὁρῶ ὅπως μὴ πραξόμεθα, ὃ ἄιδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τούτους

Α καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύονας νῦν εἶναι εἰς ἀγάγην καὶ πρό-  
φασιν κοινοῦ πολέμου πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ γένοιθι ἡμῖν  
πρὸς Φιλιππον πάλιν πόλεμος δί' Ἀμφίπολιν ἢ τι τοιοῦτο  
ἔγκλημα ἴδιον, οὐ μὴ μετέχουσι Θετταλοὶ μηδὲ Ἀργεῖοι μηδὲ  
Θηβαῖοι, οὐκ ἀν ἡμῖν οἴωμαι τούτων οὐδένα πολεμῆσαι, καὶ  
πάντων ἥκιστα (καὶ μοὶ μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδεῖς πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι)  
Θηβαῖοις, οὐχ ὡς ἡδέως ἔχουσιν ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ ὡς οὐκ ἀν  
χαρίζοιντο Φιλιππῷ, ἀλλ' ἵσασιν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ καὶ πάριν φησὶ<sup>τις</sup>  
τις αὐτοὺς ἀναισθήτους εἶναι, διτὶ εἰ γενήσεται πόλεμος πρὸς  
ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς, τὰ μὲν κακὰ πάνθ' ἔξουσιν αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἀγα-  
θοῖς ἐφεδρεύωνταν ἔτερος καθεδεῖται. Οὐκούν προσιντ' ἀν ἑα-  
τοὺς εἰς τοῦτο, μὴ κοινῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς αἰτίας οὕσης τοῦ  
πολέμου. Οὐδέ γε εἰ πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαῖον πολεμῆσαι-  
μεν δί' Ὁρωπὸν ἢ τι τῶν ἴδιων, οὐδὲν ἀν ἡμᾶς παθεῖν ἡγοῦ-  
μας· καὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν κάκείνοις τοὺς βοηθοῦντας ἀν οἷμαι, εἰς  
τὴν οἰκείαν εἴ τις ἐμβάλοι, βοηθεῖν, οὐ συνεπιστρατεύειν  
οὐδετέροις. Καὶ γὰρ αἱ συμμαχίαι τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον,  
ῶν καὶ φροντίσειν ἀν τις, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα φύπει τοιοῦτον ἔστιν.  
Οὐκ δέχεται τῆς ἴσης ἕκαστος ἐστιν εὑρούσι οὐθ' ἡμῖν οὔτε Θη-  
βαῖοις, σῶς τε εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ σῶς μὲν  
c εἶναι πάντες ἀν βούλοιντο ἔνεχ' αὐτῶν, κρατήσαντας δὲ τοὺς  
ἔτερον δεσπότας ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς. Τί οὖν ἡγοῦμαι  
φοβερόν, καὶ τί φυλάκασθαι φημὶ δεῖν ἡμᾶς; μὴ κοινὴν πρό-  
φασιν καὶ κοινὸν ἔγκλημα δὲ μέλλων πόλεμος πρὸς ἀπαντας  
λάβῃ. Εἰ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖ-  
ται καὶ τινες τῶν λοιπῶν Πελοποννησίων, δοσοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τού-  
τοις φρονοῦσι, διὰ τὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ἐπικηρυ-  
κέιαν ἔχθρῶς σχήσουσι καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκδέχεσθαι τι τῶν ἔκει-  
νοις πεπραγμένων, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἔχουσι μέν, ὡς λέγουσιν,  
ἀπέχθως, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχθροτέρως σχήσουσιν, διτὶ τοὺς παρ' ἔκειγνων  
D φεύγοντας σώζομεν καὶ πάντα τρόπον τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐνδεικ-  
νύμεθ' αὐτοῖς, Θετταλοὶ δὲ, διτὶ τοὺς Φωκέων φυγάδας σώζομεν,  
Φιλιππος δέ, διτὶ κωλύομεν αὐτὸν κοινωνεῖν τῆς Ἀμφικτυνίας,  
φοβοῦμαι μὴ πάντες περὶ τῶν ἴδιων ἕκαστος ὄργιζόμετος  
κοινὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι τὸν πόλεμον, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων  
δόγματα προστησάμενοι, εἰτ' ἐπισπασθῶσιν ἕκαστοι πέρα τοῦ  
συμφέροντος ἡμῖν πολεμῆσαι, ώσπερ καὶ περὶ Φωκέως.  
Ἴστε γὰρ δῆπον τοῦθ', διτὶ νῦν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φιλιππος καὶ Θετ-  
ταλοὶ οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἕκαστοι μάλιστα ἐσπουδακότες ταῦτα  
πά: τες ἐπραξαν· οἷον Θηβαῖοι τὸν μὲν Φιλιππον παρελθεῖν  
καὶ λαβεῖν τὰς παρόδους οὐκ ἡδύναντο κωλῦσαι, οὐδέ γε τῶν

αὐτοῖς πεπονημένων ὑστατον ἐλθόντα τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν· νυνὶ **Δ** γάρ Θηβαίοις πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὴν χώραν κεκομίσθαι πέπρακταί τι, πρὸς δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αἰσχιστα· εἰ γάρ μὴ παρῆλθε Φίλιππος, οὐδὲν ἀν αἰτοῖς ἐδόκει εἶναι. Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἡβούλοντο, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸν Ὀρχομεγὸν καὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν, μὴ δύνασθαι δέ, πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπέμειναν. Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δήπου τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲ ἡβούλετο Θηβαίοις Ὀρχομεγὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν παραδοῦναι, ἀλλ' ἥναγκάσθη· ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἐφρῶσθαι λέγω, ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὔδε, ὅτι οὐ μᾶλλόν γε ταῦτ' ἔμελεν αὐτῷ ἡ τὰς παρόδους λαβεῖν ἡβούλετο καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δοκεῖν δι' αὐτὸν **Β** κρίσιν εἰληφέναι, καὶ τὰ Πίθια θεῖναι δι' ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ ταῦτ' ἣν μάλιστ' ἐγλίχετο. Θετταλοὶ δέ γε οὐδέτερ' ἡβούλοντο τούτων, οὗτε Θηβαίοις οὗτε τὸν Φίλιππον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι (ταῦτα γάρ πάντ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἥγοῦντο), τῆς Πυλαίας δὲ ἐπειθύμουν καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτημάτων δύοιν, κύριοι γενέσθαι· τῷ δὲ τούτων γλίχεσθαι τάδε συγκατέπραξαν. Τῶν τοίνυν ίδίων ἔνεχ' εὑρήσετε ἕκαστον πολλὰ προηγμένον, ἣν οὐδὲν ἡβούλετο, πρᾶξαι. Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν, διτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστι, φυλακτέον ἥμιν.

Τὰ κελεύμενα ἡμᾶς ἄρα δεῖ ποιεῖν ταῦτα φοβουμένους; 5 καὶ σὺ ταῦτα κελεύεις; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω. 'Αλλ' ὡς οὕτε **С** πράξουμεν οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὕτ' ἐσται πόλεμος, νοῦν δὲ δόξομεν πᾶσιν ἔχειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια λέγειν, τοῦτ' οἷμαι δεῖν ποιεῖν. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θρασέως ὄτισῦν οἰομένους ὑπομεῖναι δεῖν καὶ μὴ προορωμένους τὸν πόλεμον ἔκεīνα βούλομαι λογίσασθαι. 'Ημεῖς Θηβαίοις ἔωμεν ἔχειν Ὀρωτόν· καὶ εἴ τις ἔριστο ἡμᾶς, κελεύσας εἰπεῖν τάληθη, διὰ τί; ἵνα μὴ πολεμῶμεν, φαῖμεν ἀν. Καὶ Φίλιππψ νυνὶ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας Ἀμφιπόλεως παρακεχωρήκαμεν, καὶ Καρδιανὸν ἔωμεν ἔξω Χερρόνησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων τετάχθαι, καὶ τὸν Κᾶρα τὰς νήσους **Д** καταλαμβάνειν, Χίον καὶ Κῶν καὶ Ρόδον, καὶ Βυζαντίους κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡσυχίαν πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι νομίζοντες ἡ τὸ προσκρούειν καὶ φλονεικεῖν περὶ τούτων. Οὐκ οὖν εὕηθες καὶ κομιδῇ σχέτλιον, πρὸς ἐκάστους καθ' ἓνα οὕτω προσενεγμένους περὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, πρὸς πάντας περὶ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιᾶς νυνὶ πολεμῆσαι;

## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

### ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Παραινεῖ διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ρήτωρ πολίμιον ὑποτείνειν τὸν Φιλιππὸν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἰγείρεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ εὐτρεπίζεσθαι εἰς πόλεμον ἐπιβουλεύειν γάρ αἰτάται καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς "Ἐλλησι τὸν Φιλιππὸν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀντοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις φησίν. Ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσιμη δώσειν πρὸς τινὰς πρέσβυτος ἡκουντας, ἀπορούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ τί ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. Πόδεν δὲ οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἡκουούσιν, ἵν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦνται, ἕκ δὲ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἴστοροῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν. Κατὰ γάρ τούτον τὸν καιρὸν Ἰπεψύε πρέσβεις δὲ Φιλιππὸς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτώμενος δὲ διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγειλάμενον αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ψινσάμενον δὲ οὐδὲν γάρ ὑπεσχήσθαι φησιν οὐδὲ ἐψινούσι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔλλεγονται ἀπαίτει. Ἐπειψύε δὲ μετὰ Φιλιππὸν καὶ Ἀργεῖον καὶ Μισσήνιοι πρίσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτώμενοι καὶ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον δὲ τὰς τάσσουσιν αἰτάντοις πολέμους πολεμοῦσιν ἱναντιοῦνται. Ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φιλιππὸν ἀποκρίσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι εἴνοι μὲν εἰσὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μισσήνιων μετὰ Φιλίππου σύντασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποπτεύονται, οὐ μὴν ἀποφήνασθαι δύνανται δίκαια πράττειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φιλιππὸν διημαρτήκασι μὲν ἀνὴρ πιστός, οὐ μὴν ὥπ' ἱκείνους γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἑκηπατήσθαις οὐτε γάρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν δὲ Φιλιππὸς ἐπαγγέλλαιν οὐδεμίαν, οὐτε διὰ τῶν ἴδιων πρέσβεων ἐποιήσατό τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ἀλλὰ Αθηναίων τινὲς ησαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἀπίδια καταστήσαντες ὡς Φιλιππὸς Φιλιαίας σώσεις καὶ τὴν Θερμαίων ὕδριαν καταλόγει. Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν αὐτὰς δώσειν, φησι δὲ θεῖ δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς τὴν δυσχέραιαν πεποιηκότας, ἱκείνους καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσις ἀπαίτεσθαι, τοὺς ἀπατήσαντας, φησί, τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνοικαντας Φιλίππῳ Πύλας. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην αἰνίγγεται, προκατασκευάδειος, ὡς φασι, τὴν καὶ ἀντοῦ κατηγορίαν τῆς παραπροσθείας, ἦν θετερον ἴνεστήσατο, καὶ προδιαβάλλων αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

1. "Οταν δὲ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λόγοι γίγνωνται περὶ ὧν Φιλιππὸς πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαιους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὡρῶ φαινομένους, καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἀπαντας ἀεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλιππὸν, γιγνόμενον δὲ οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲ ὧν ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἀξιον· ἀλλ' εἰς τούτο

ἡδη προφυμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ τράγματα τῇ πόλει, οὐδὲ ἡ  
ὅση τις ἀν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερότερον ἐξελέγχει Φίλιππον καὶ  
τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβάνοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλασιν  
ἐπιβουλεύοντα, τοσούτη γὰρ χρὴ τοιεῖν συμβουλεῦσαι χαλε-  
πότερον. Λίγιον δὲ τούτων, διτε τάντες ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργη ταλάνειν καὶ τράπεσιν, οὐχὶ  
λόγοις δέοντος, — πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οἱ παριώντες τούτων μεν  
ἀφέσταμεν, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
πάχεινταν ἀκροῦντες, οὐαὶ τοιεὶ δέ, ὃς δεινά καὶ χαλεπά, τοῦτα  
διεξερχόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ ὑμεῖς οἱ καθίμενοι, ὡς μεν ἀν εἴκοσι  
δικαιίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἀλλον συνείητε, ἀμεινον Φίλιπ-  
πον παρεστένασθε, ὡς δὲ συλλόσσαντες ἀν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτα  
ἔφ' ἡν ἔστι νῦν, παιτελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε. Συμβαίνει δὴ  
πράγμα ἀναγκαῖον, οὐμαὶ, καὶ ἵστως εἰδός, ἐν οἷς ἐκάτεροι  
διατρίβετε καὶ περὶ ἀ στονδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἀμεινον ἐκατέροις  
ἔχετε, ἐκείνη μὲν αἱ πράξεις, ὑμῖν δὲ οἱ λόγοι. Εἰ μὲν οὖν  
καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιότερα ὑμίν ἔξαρκει, ῥάδιον, καὶ πόνος  
οὐδεὶς πρόστοι τῷ πράγματι· εἰ δὲ διτες τὰ παρόντα ἐτα-  
ρθωθῆσται δεῖ σκοτεῖν, καὶ μὴ προελθόντα ἔτι τοφφωτέρω  
λήσει τάντας ὑμᾶς, μηδὲ ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς  
ἢν οὐδὲ ἀιτάραις ἀνησύρεθα, οὐχὶ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος διτερ πρό-  
τερον τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγοντιν διτασι καὶ  
τοῖς ἀκούοντιν ὑμίν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώσοντα τῶν ῥήστων  
καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων τρομαρτέοντο.

Πρῶτον μέν, εἰ τις ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι θαφρεῖ ὄρων ἄλικος 2  
ἡδη καὶ δισων κύριος ἔστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδένα σέτει κίνδυνον  
φέρειν τοῦτο τῷ πόλει μηδὲ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρεσκευάζεσθαι,  
θαυμάζω καὶ δερψῆναι τάντων ὅμοιων ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς  
λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαι μον ὀùα βραχέων, δι' οὓς τάνατοια ἐμοὶ  
παρέστησε προσδοσῆν καὶ δι' ἡν ἔχθρὸν ἤγουμα Φίλιππον,  
ἴν' ἔαν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἔαν δὲ  
οἱ θαφροῦντες καὶ πειστευκότες αὐτῷ, τούτοις προσθήσεσθε.  
Ἐγὼ τοινυν ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λογίζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος  
τύριος πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν  
ἐν Φιλίππαι τραγυμάτων. Τί οὖν; τῶν τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ἀ  
Θηβαῖοις συμφέρει καὶ οὐχ ἀ τῷ πόλει, πράττειν προείλετο.  
Τι δὴ ποτε; ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οὐμαὶ, καὶ τὸ τάκτῳ ὡφ'  
ἴαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξτάζων, καὶ οὐ πρὸς εἰρή-  
νην οὐδὲ ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν, εἰδὲ τοῦτο ὑρθῶς, διτε τῷ  
μὲν ὑμετέρῳ πόλει καὶ τοῖς θεστοῖς τοῦτοις ὑμετέροις οὐδὲν ἀν  
ινδεῖσθαι τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ τοισθειν, ὡφ' οὐ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς

Α τῆς Ἰδίας ἔνεκ' ὀφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἐλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προσέσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγου ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσυῖσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι φεύγοντες, καὶ τανθ' ἡ προσήκει προορόμενοι, ὅμοίως ἐναντιώσεσθε, ἀν τι τοιῶντον ἐπειχειρῆ πράττειν, ὥστερ ἀν εἰ πολεμοῦντες τέχοιτε. Τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους ἡγεῖτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ ἔσσειν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακαύλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνοπτρατεύσειν, ἀν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. Καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ταῦτα ὑπειληφάς εἴναι ἔποιει. "Ο καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστιν καθ' ὑμῶν ἁγκύμιον, ὃ ἀνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι' κέκρισθε γάρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἀγ̄ κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἐλλήνων προέσθαι, μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδ' ὀφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἐλληνας εὑνοιαν. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὐτως ὑπειληφε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων καὶ Θηβαίων ὡς ἔτερως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόντα ὄρῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. Εδρίσκει γάρ, οἷμα, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἔξοντας τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχειν Ἐλλήνων ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἡγίκ' εἰλθεν 'Αλέξανδρος δ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κῆρυς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ' δ πάντες ἀεὶ γλίχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δὲ οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ κάγω παραλείψω δικαίως (ἔστι γάρ μείζονα τάκεινων ἔργα η ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἀν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συνοπτρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐναντιώθεντας. Οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἴδιᾳ τὸ λυστελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ δ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ τοῖς Ἐλλησι σκεψομένους. 'Ηγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἔλοιπο φίλους, ἐπὶ τοῖς διδασκαλίοις αἱρήσεσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἐκείνοις προσθέτο, συνεργοὺς ἔξειν τῆς αὐτοῦ πλεονεξίας. Διὰ ταῦτα ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἱρεῖται. Οὐ γάρ δὴ τριήρεις γε ὄρφη πλείους αὐτοῖς η ὑμῖν οὐσας οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὑρηκε, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν οὐδὲ ἀμυημονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἵς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.

3 Ἀλλὰ γη Δι', εἴποι τις ἀν ὡς πάντα ταῦτα εἰδώς, οὐ πλεονεξίας ἔνεκεν οὐδὲ ἀν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε ταῦτα ἐπράξειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιότερα τοὺς Θηβαίους η ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν. 'Αλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστι αὐτῷ νῦν

εἰπεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφίέται κελεύων Λ  
πῶς ἀν 'Ορχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τόπε Θηβαίους παραδοὺς  
τῷ δίκαια νομίζειν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιηκέναι στήψαιτο;

'Αλλ' ἐβιάσθη τῇ Δίᾳ (τοῦτο γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ παρὰ 4  
γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἵππεων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὄπλιτῶν ἐν  
μέσῳ ληφθείς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. Καλῶς. Οὐκοῦν φασι  
μὲν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ  
λογοτοιοῦσσι περιούστες τινὲς ὡς 'Ελάτειαν τείχιοι· ὁ δὲ  
ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει, ὡς ἔγων κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσση-  
νίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς 'Αργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συμβάλ-  
λειν οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζένους εἰστέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀπο-  
ντέλλει καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐστι προσδόκιμος.  
Τοὺς μὲν ὄντας ἔχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναρεῖ,  
οὐδὲ δ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκέας νῦν σώζει; καὶ τίς  
ἄν ταῦτα πιστεύσειν; ἔγων μὲν γάρ οὐδὲ ἀν ἡγοῦμαι Φιλεπ-  
πον, οὐτ' εἰ τὰ πρῶτα βιασθεὶς ἄκων ἔπραξεν οὐτ' ἀν εἰ νῦν  
ἀπεγίγνωσκε Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναν-  
τιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὐν τοιεῖ, κλίκείνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δῆλος  
ἐστι ποιήσας. 'Ἐκ πάντων δ, ἀν τις ὄρθως θεωρῇ, πάντα  
πραγματεύεται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συρτάττων. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ  
ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν' αὐτῷ νῦν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. Λογίζεσθε ο  
γάρ. "Αρχειν βούλεται, τούτου δ ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους  
ὑπεδηφεν ὑμᾶς. 'Αδικεῖ πολὺν ἡδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς  
ἀριστα σύνοιδεν ἐαυτῷ· οἰς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροις ἔχει, τούτοις  
πάντα τάλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέστηται· εἰ γὰρ 'Αμφίπολις καὶ Ποτί-  
δαιαι προείτο, οὐδὲ ἀν οἴκοι μένειν βιβαίως ἡγεῖτο. 'Αμφί-  
πετρα οὖν οἴδε, καὶ ἐαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβούλευοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰσ-  
θανομένους· εἰ φρονεῖν δ ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων δικαίως ἄν  
αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζοι, καὶ παρώνται, τείσεσθαι τι προ-  
δοκῶν, ἄν καιρὸν λάβῃτε, ἔαν μὴ φάσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος.  
Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει τινὰς δ  
Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτα βουλομένους τούτοις,  
οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα ἀγαπήσειν οἴεται, διὰ δὲ  
σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετά ταῦτ' οὐδέν προύψεσθαι. Καί τοι  
σωφρονοῦσί ἐι καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματ' ἐστιν ἰδεῖν,  
ἀ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς 'Αργείους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν συ-  
έβη, βέλτιον δ ἴσως καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐστιν εἰρῆσθαι.

Πῶς γὰρ οἰεσθ', ἐφην, ὡς ἄνδρες Μεσσηνοί, δυσχερῶς 5  
ἀκούειν 'Ολυμπίους, εἰ τίς τι λέγοις κατὰ Φιλεππον, κατ' ἐκεί-  
νους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' 'Αινθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀφίει, ἃς  
πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο,

**Δ** Ποτιδαίαν δὲ ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβάλλων, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνήρητο, τὴν χώραν δὲ ἑκείνοις ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι; δρα προσδοκῶν αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι, η̄ λέγοντος δὲ τινος πιστεῦσαι σύεσθε; ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐφην ἐγώ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρπωθάμενοι πολὺν τῆς ἐαυτῶν ὑπὲρ ἑκείνου στέρονται, αἰσχρῶς ἐκπεσθήτες, οὐν κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐν γάρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταις λίαν ὄμιλαι. Τί δὲ οἱ Θετταλοί; δρ' οἵσθι, ἐφην, δρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ **β** τάλιν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδουν, προσδοκῶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν νῦν δεκαδαρχίαν ἕσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; η̄ τὸν τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα, τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσόδους παραμήσεσθαι; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ τάσιν ἔστιν εἰδέναι. Ὅμεις δὲ, ἐφην ἐγώ, διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχυόμενον θεωρεῖτε Φίλιππον, ἔξηπτακότα δὲ ηδη καὶ παρακεκρυμένον ἀπέύχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δῆ, ιδεῖν. "Εστι τοίνυν νὴ Δὲ, ἐφην ἐγώ, παντοδαπὰ εὑρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ τάλλα δσα τοιαῦτα. Καὶ ταῦτα μέν ἔστιν ἀπαντα **с** χειροποίητα, καὶ δαπάνης προσδεῖται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἡ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρογούντων ἐν ἐαυτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, δὲ τάσι μέν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. Τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. Ταῦτην φυλάγγετε, ταῦτης ἀντέχεσθε· ἔαν ταῦτην σώζητε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. Τί ζητεῖτε; ἐφην. Ἐλευθερίαν. Εἰτ' οὐχ δράτε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριωτάτας ταῦτη καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γάρ καὶ τύραννος ἀπας ἔχθρος ἐλευθερίας καὶ νόμος ἐναντίος. Οὐν φυλάξεσθ οὗτως, ἐφην, μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπότην εὑρῆτε;

**6** **δ** Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἑκεῖνοι, καὶ θυριβοῦντες ὡς ὄρθως λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ παρόντος ἔμοι καὶ τάλιν ὑστερον ἀκούσαντες, ὡς ἕοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποσχήσονται τῆς Φίλιππου φιλίας οὐδὲ ὥν ἐπαγγέλλεται. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο ἔστιν ἄτοκον, εἰ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Πελοποννησίων τινὲς παρ' ἂν τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ δρῶσι τι πράξουσιν' ἀλλ' ὅμεις οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθε, ὡς περιτειχίεσθε, ὥστε μηδὲν ηδη ποιῆσαι λήσθι ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ πάντα ὑπομείναντες· οὕτως ἡ παραυτίχη ἡδονὴ καὶ φραστώνη μεῖζον ἴσχύει τοῦ ποθεὶ ὑστερον συναίσειν μέλλοντος.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αἴτους ὑστερον 7  
 βουλεύσεσθε, ἀν τὸ σωφρονῆτε· ἃ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ λ  
 δέοντ' ἀν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτα δὴ λέξω. Ἡν μὲν οὖν  
 δίκαιον ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσιες,  
 ἵφ' αἷς ἐπεισθῆτε ποιήσοσθαί τὴν εἰρήνην, καλεῖν· οὐτε γάρ  
 αὐτὸς ἀν ποτε ὑπέμενα πρεσβεύειν, οὐτ' ἀν ὑμαῖς οἴδ' θεὶ<sup>τ</sup>  
 ἐπανάσσοσθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν τυχόντα εἰρήνης  
 Φιλιππον φεύσθε· ἀλλ' ἡν πολὺ τούτων ἀφεστηκότα τὰ τούτε  
 λεγόμενα. Καὶ πάλιν γ' ὀπέρους καλεῖν τίνας; τοὺς δρ' ἐγὼ  
 γεγονούσας ἡδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας ἥκων πρεσβείας  
 τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς δρους, αἰσθόμενος φυακιζομένην τὴν πόλιν, <sup>τ</sup>  
 προβλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ εἴων πρόσθιαι Πύλας  
 οὐδὲ Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὡς ἔγω μὲν ὅνδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δύσ-  
 τροπος καὶ δύσκολος εἰμί τις ἀνθρωπος, Φιλίππος δ, ὀπέρ  
 εὑξαίσθη ἀν ὑμαῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπίας μὲν καὶ  
 Πλαταιῶν τειχεῖ, Θηβαίους δε πάντες τῆς ὑβρεως, Χερρόνη-  
 σου δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορίζει, Εὔβοιαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὁρω-  
 πὸν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γάρ ἀπαντα ἐπὶ<sup>τ</sup>  
 τοῦ βῆματος ἐνταῦθα μνημονεύετ' οἴδ' θεὶ ρῆθεντα, καίπερ  
 δυτες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μεμνησθαι. Καὶ τὸ πάντων  
 αἰσχιστον, καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἀλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν  
 εἰρήνην εἴναι ταῦτην ἐψηφισασθε· οὐτω τελίως ὑπήχθητε.  
 Τί δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φημι δεῖν τούτους; ἔγω νη  
 τοὺς θεοὺς τάλαθη μετὰ παρθησίας ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀποκρινθομαι. Οοΐχ ίν' εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν ἔμαυτῷ μὲν  
 ἐξ ἴσου λόγου παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δὲ ἔμοι προσκρούσασιν  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὴν παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν  
 παρὰ Φιλίππου· οὐδὲ ίνα ὡς βλλως ἀδολεσχῶ. Ἀλλ' οὐμαί  
 ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσαις, δὲ Φιλίππος πράττει, μᾶλλον η τὰ νυνὶ<sup>τ</sup>  
 τὸ γάρ πράγμα δρῶ προβάσιον, καὶ οὐχὶ βουλοίμην ἀν εἰκά-  
 λειν δρθῶ, φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ λιαν ἔγγυς η τοῦτ' ἡδη. "Οταν δ  
 οὖν μηκέτ' ὑμῖν ἀμελεῖν ἔξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων,  
 μηδὲ ἀκούηθε διε ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔστιν ἴμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δεῖνος,  
 ἀλλ' αἴτοι πάντες δράτε καὶ εὖ εἰδῆτε, δργίλους καὶ τραχεῖς  
 ὑμᾶς ἰσεσθαι τομίζω. Φοβοῦμαι δὴ μὴ τῶν πρεσβεων  
 σεσιωπηκότων, ἐφ' οἵς αἴτοις συνίσσασι δεξιωροδοκησόσι, τοῖς  
 ἐπανορθοῦν τι πειρωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότων τῇ  
 παρ' ὑμῶν δργῇ πειριπεσεῖν συμβῆ· δρῶ γάρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ  
 ἔνιους οὐκ εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χείρα μάλιστα  
 τὴν δργὴν ἀφίεντας. "Εως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται τὰ  
 πράγματα καὶ κατακούσομεν ἄλληλων, ἔκαστον ὑμῶν, καίπερ

Λ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότα, δμως ἐπαναμυνήσκεσθαι βούλομαι τίς ὁ Φωκέας πείσας καὶ Πύλας ποιήσας προέσθαι, ὃν καταστὰς ἔκεινος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὄδον καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πεποίχη ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδὲ ὑπέρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, δις λυπήσει μὲν ἔκαστον, ἐπειδὰν παρῷ, γέγονε δὲ ἐν ἔκεινῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Εἰ γάρ μὴ παρεκρυνθῆτε τόθ' ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἀντὶ τὴν πολει τρῆγμα· οὐτε γάρ ναυοὶ δῆκον κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἥλθεν ἢν τοτε στόλῳ Φιλιππος, οὐτε πεζῇ βαδίζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Β Πύλας καὶ Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἡ τὰ δίκαια ἀντὶ ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγων ἱσχύιαν είχεν, η παραχρῆμη ἀντὶ τὴν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δὲ διν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν. Ταῦτ' οὖν ὡς μὲν ὑπομησαὶ, νῦν ἵκανῶς εἴρηται, ὡς δὲ ἀντὶ ἔξετασθείη μάλιστ' ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, ὡς πάντες θεοί οὐδένα γάρ βουλούμην ἔγωγε ἀν, οὐδὲ εἰ δικαίος ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.

## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΩΙ.

### ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ο λόγος οὗτος ὑπὲρ Διοπείθους εἱρηται καὶ ὃν ἔκεινος παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις κατηγόρητο. Ήν μὲν γάρ Χερρόνησος ἡ πρὸς Θράκην τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἴημα ἀρχαῖον, εἰς δὲ ταῦτην ἀπέστειλαν κατὰ τοὺς Φιλίππους καιροὺς εληφρούχους ἁντῶν. Ήθος δὲ τὴν τοῦτο παλαιὸν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, δοσοὶ πένητες ἂσαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκτήμονες οἰκοῦν, τούτους τέ μπειν ἐποίους εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις τὰς ἁντῶν· καὶ ἐλάμβανον περπόμενοι ὅπλα τε ἐν τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἴδοιν. Καὶ νῦν τοινυν τοῦτο γέγονε, καὶ πεπόμφασιν ἐποίους εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον, στρατηγὸν αὐτοῖς δόντες Διοπείθη. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι Χερρόνησῖται τοὺς ἐπειδόντας ἐδίξαντο καὶ μετέδωκαν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ γῆς, Καρδιανοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδίξαντο, λέγοντες ίδιαν χώραν οἰκεῖν καὶ οὐδὲν Ἀθηναίων. Εντεῦθεν οὖν Διοπείθης ἐπολέμει Καρδιανοῖς. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ Φιλίππουν καταφεύγουσι, καὶ δις ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μὴ βάζεσθαι Καρδιανοὺς ὡς αὐτῷ προσήκουντας, ἀλλὰ δικάσασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ τὶ φασιν ἡδικῆσθαι. Ός δὲ οὐκ ἡκουον τούτων οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, βοήθειαν τοῖς Καρδιανοῖς ἐπεμψεν. Ἐφ' οἵς ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Διοπείθης, τοῦ Φιλίππου περὶ τὴν μεσόγειαν, τὴν ἄνω Θράκην, πολεμοῦντας πρὸς τὸν Οδρυσῶν βασιλέα, τὴν παράλιον Θράκην ὑπῆκουον οὖσαν τοῦ Μακεδόνος κατέδραμε καὶ ἐπέρθησεν αἰφνίδιον,

καὶ ἵθη πρὶν Φίλιππον ἐπανέλθειν ἀναχωρήσας τὸς τὴν Χερβόνησον καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γενέμενος. Διότερος δὲ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν θεῖς δύπλους αὐτὸν ἀμύνασθαι πέπομφεν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίους, κατηγορῶν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ λέγων αὐτὸν παραβεβηκέναι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντικροῦς. Καὶ οἱ φίλιππῖζοντες τῶν ἡγετώρων κατατρίχουσι διοπτίθους, καὶ κολάζειν ἄξιωσιν αὐτὸν. Πρὸς οὖς δὲ Δημοσθένης ἴναντιούμενος διεῖχε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διοπειθοῦς ἰσταται. Οὗτος γάρ ἀδικά φησιν αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι· Φίλιππον γάρ πολὺ πρότερον παραβάντος τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ἀδικοῦντος τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν, εἰκότως καὶ τοῦτον ἔργα πολέμου διαπράττεσθαι· οὗτος συμφέρειν λέγει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κολάσαι τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ διαλῦσαι τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνους ὀνόματιν, ἵτις νῦν ἀποκρούεται Χερβονήσου Φίλιππον. Τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐπὶ πόλεμον παρακαλεῖ, καὶ τοῦ Φίλιππου πολλῆν ποιεῖται κατηγορίαν ὡς ἀδίκου καὶ παρασπόνδου καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν διποιούλευοντος.

"Εδει μέν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς λέγοντας ἀπαντας 1 μήτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μηδένα μήτε πρὸς χάριν, οὐδὲν δὲ βέλτιστον ἔκαστος ἡγεῖτο, τοῦτον ἀποφαίγεσθαι, ἀλλως τε καὶ περὶ κοινῶν τραγυμάτων καὶ μεγάλων ὑμῶν βουλευομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνιοι τὰ μὲν φιλονεκίᾳ τὰ δὲ ἥτινιδήποτ' αἰτίᾳ προάγονται λέγειν, ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πολλοὺς δεῖ πάντα τὰδὲ ἀφελόντας, δὲ τῇ πόλει νομίζετε συμφέρειν, ταῦτα καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν σκουδὴ περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερβονήσῳ τραγυμάτων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς στρατείας, ήν ἐνδέκατον μῆνα τοντονὶ Φίλιππος ἐν Θράκῃ ποιεῖται· τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ πλεῖστοι περὶ ὧν Διοπειθῆς πράττει καὶ μέλλειν ποιεῖν εἰρηταί. Ἐγὼ δὲ δσα μέν τις αἰτιάται τινα τούτων οὖς κατὰ τοὺς τόμους ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστιν ὅταν βούλησθε κολάζειν, κανὸν δηδη δυκῆ κανὸν ἐπισχοῦσι περὶ αὐτῶν σκοπεῖν ἔγχωρεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ οὐ πάντα δεῖ περὶ τούτων οὕτ' ἐμὲ οὔτε ἀλλον οὐδένα ἰσχυρίζεσθαι· δσα δὲ ἔχθρος ὑπάρχων τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνάμει πολλῆς περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ὧν πειρᾶται προλαβεῖν, κανὸν ἀπαξ ὑστερήσωμεν, οὐκέτι ἔξομεν σῶσαι, περὶ τούτων δὲ οἷμα τὴν ταχίστην συμφέρειν καὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν περὶ τῶν ἀλλων θορύβοις καὶ ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι.

Πολλὰ δὲ θαυμάζων τῶν εἰωθύτων λέγεσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν, 2 οὐδενὸς ἡττον ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τεθαύμακα δὲ καὶ πρώτην τινὸς ἡκουσας εἰπόντος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ τὸν συμβουλεύοντα ἡ πολεμεῖν ἀπλῶς ἡ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν συμβουλεύειν. "Εστι δέ, εἰ μὲν ἡσυχίαν Φίλιππος ἄγει καὶ μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔχει παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην μηδὲν μήτε συσκευάζεται πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐκέτι δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς εἰρήνην

**Α** Δι' οὐχ ἦν Διοπείθης πεφάται τῇ πόλει δύναμιν παρασκευάζειν, ταύτην βασκαίνειν καὶ διαλῦσαι πειρᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν αὐτοὺς προσπαρισκευάζειν καὶ συνενποροῦντας ἔκεινων χρημάτων καὶ τάλλα οἰκείως συναγωνιζομένους. Εἰ γάρ τις ἔροιτο Φίλιππον, εἰπέ μοι, πότερ' ἀν βούλοιο τούτους τοὺς στρατιώτας οὓς Διοπείθης νῦν ἔχει, τοὺς ὅποιουστι γασοῦν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγω), εὐθενεῖν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις εὐδοξεῖν καὶ πλείους γίγνεσθαι τῆς πόλεως συναγωνιζομένης, ἡ διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφαρῆναι; ταῦτ' ἀν οἷμαι φήσειν. Εἰθ' ἀ Φίλιππος ἀν τοῦ ζεύς τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τινὲς ἐνθάδε πράττουσιν; εἴτα ἔτι ζητεῖτε πόθεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπόδιλεν ἀπαντα;

**5** Βούλομαι τοίνυν ὑμᾶς μετὰ παρθησίας ἔξετάσαι τὰ παρόντα πράγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ σκέψασθαι τί ποιοῦμεν αὐτοῖς νῦν καὶ διπλῶς χρώμεθ' αὐτοῖς. Ὅμεις οὔτε χρήματα εἰσφέρειν βούλομεθα, οὔτε αὐτοῖς στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε τὰς συντάξεις Διοπείθει δίδομεν, οὔθ' δο' ἀν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορίσθαι ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βασκαίνομεν καὶ σκοποῦμεν πόθεν καὶ τί μέλλει ποιεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὕτως ἐπειδὴ περ οὐτως ἔχομεν, τὰ ημέτερ' αὐτῶν σ πράττειν ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐ μὲν τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς τῆς πόλεως λέγοντας ἄξια ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐγαντιουμένοις τούτοις συναγωνιζόμεθα. "Τοιοῖς μέν τοι εἰώθατε ἐκάστοτε τὸν παριστάντα ἐρωτᾷν τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐρωτήσω βούλομαι τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; εἰ γὰρ μήτε εἰσοίσετε, μήτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθε, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀφέξεσθε, μήτε τὰς συντάξεις δώσετε, μήτε δο' ἀν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορίσθαι ἐάσετε, μήτε τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐθελήσετε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. Εἰ γὰρ ἡδη τοσαύτην ἔξυσίαν τοῖς αἰτιᾶσθαι καὶ διαβάλλειν βούλομένοις δίδοτε, ώστε καὶ περὶ ὧν φασι μέλλειν δι αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτων προκατηγοροῦντων ἀκροᾶσθε, τί ἀν τις λέγοι;

**6** "Ο τι τοίνυν δύναται ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐνίοις μαθεῖν ὑμῶν δεῖ. Λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρθησίας· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀλλως δυναίμην. Πάντες δοι ποτ' ἐκτεπλεύκασι παρ' ὑμῶν στρατηγοί, ή ἐγὼ πάσχειν ὀπιῶν τιμῷμαι, καὶ παρὰ Χίων καὶ παρὰ Ἐρυθραίων καὶ παρ' ὄντιν ἀν ἔκαστο δύνωνται, τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσταν οἰκούντων λέγω, χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν. Λαμβάνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔχοντες μίαν ή δύο ναῦς ἐλάττονα, οἱ δὲ μείζων δύναμιν πλείονα. Καὶ διδόσαιν οἱ διδόντες οὔτε τὰ μικρὰ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ ἀντ' οὐδενός (οὐ γὰρ οὐτω μαίνονται),

ἀλλ' ὡνούμενοι μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκπλέοντας οἱ ἐμπόρους, μὴ συλλασθαι, παραπέμπεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ αὐτῶν, τὰ τοιαῦτα φασὶ δὲ εἴνοις διδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἔχει τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα. Καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τῷ Διοκείθει στράτευμα ἔχοντι σαφῶς ἐστι τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι δώσουσι χρήματα πάντες οὗτοι· πόθεν γάρ οἰσθε ἄλλοθεν τὸν μήτε λαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν μηδὲν μήτε αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ὀπόθεν μισθωδοτήσει στρατιώτας τρέφειν; ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; οὐκ ἐστι ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἀγείρει καὶ προσατεῖ καὶ δανείζεται, ἀπὸ τούτων διάγει. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ πρόλεγουσιν ἄπασι μηδὲ ὄτιον ἐκείνῳ διδόναι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ μελλῆτος δώσοντι δίκην, μή τι ποιήσαντί γε ἥ κατακραξαμένη. Τοῦτ' εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι· μέλλει πολιορκεῖν, τοὺς "Ελληνας ἐκδιδωσι" μέλλει γάρ τινα τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων Ελλήνων· ἀμείνους μὲν τὰν εἰλεν τῶν ἄλλων ἥ τῆς πατρίδος κήδεσθαι. Καὶ τό γε εἰς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον εἰσπέμπειν ἔτερον στρατηγὸν τοῦτον ἐστίν. Εἰ γάρ δεινά ποιεῖ Διοκείθεις καὶ κατάγει τὰ πλοῖα, μικρόν, ἡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρὸν πινάκιον ταῦτα πάντα κωλῦσαι δύναιτο ἄν, καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ νύμοι, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰσαγγέλλειν, οὐ μὰ Δία δαπάναις καὶ τριήρεις τοσαύτας ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο σ γ' ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ μανίας· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἔχθρούς, οὓς οὐκ ἐστι λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ τριήρεις ἐκπέμπειν καὶ χρήματα εἰσφέρειν δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ψήφισμα, εἰσαγγελία, Πάραλος, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Ταῦτ' ἡνὶ εἴ φρονοῦντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπηρεαζόντων δὲ καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ πράγματα, δὲ νῦν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιώντος δεινόν ὃν οὐ δεινόν ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι οὕτως ἡδη διάκεισθε ὅστε, ἄν μὲν τις εἰπῇ παρελθὼν ὅτι Διοκείθης ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν πάντων αἵτιος ἡ Χάρης ἡ Ἀριστοφῶν ἡ δν ἀν τῶν πολιτῶν εἴπῃ τις, εὐθέως φατὲ καὶ θορυβεῖτε ὡς ὄρθως λέγει· ἄν δὲ παρελθὼν λέγῃ τις τάληθη, ὅτι "ληρεῖτε, ἡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· πάντων τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων Φίλιππός ἐστιν αἵτιος· εἰ γάρ ἐκεῖνος ἤγει ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἄν ἡν πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει," ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔξετε ἀντιλέγειν, ἄχθεσθαι δέ μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπολλύναι τι νομίζειν. Αἵτιον δὲ τούτων (καὶ μοι τρὸς θεῶν, δταν ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω, ἐστω παῤῥησία) παρεσκευάκασιν ὑμᾶς τῶν πολιτευομένων ἔνιοι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φοβερούς καὶ χαλεπούς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου ῥηθύμους καὶ εὐκαταφρ-

**Α Δι' οὐχ ήν Διοπείθης πειρᾶται τῇ πόλει δύναμιν παρασκευάζειν, ταῦτην βασκαίνειν καὶ διαλύσαι πειρᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν αὐτοὺς προσταρισκευάζειν καὶ συνεντοροῦντας ἔκείνων χρημάτων καὶ τάλλα οἰκείως συναγωνιζομένους. Εἰ γάρ τις ἔριτο Φιλιππον, εἰπέ μοι, πότερ' ἂν βούλοιο τούτους τοὺς στρατιώτας οὓς Διοπείθης νῦν ἔχει, τοὺς ὅποιουστινασοῦν (οὐδὲν γάρ ἀντιλέγω), εἰθενεῖν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις εὐδοκεῖν καὶ πλείους γίγνεσθαι τῆς πόλεως συναγωνιζομένης, ἢ διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ κατηγορούντων διασκαθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι; ταῦτ' ἡν οἷμαι φήσειν. Εἴθ' ἀ Φιλιππος ἄν **Β** εὑξαιτο τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τινὲς ἐνθάδε πράττουσιν; εἴτα ἔτι ζητεῖτε πόθεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπόλωλεν ἀπαντα;**

**5** Βούλομαι τοίνυν ὑμᾶς μετὰ παρθησίας ἔξετάσαι τὰ παρόντα πράγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ σκέψασθαι τί ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὶ νῦν καὶ διπος χρώμεθ' αὐτοῖς. Ὡμεῖς οὔτε χρήματα εἰσφέρειν βουλόμεθα, οὔτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε τὰς συντάξεις Διοπείθει δίδομεν, οὐθ' δο' ἀν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορίσηται ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βασκαίνομεν καὶ σκοπούμεν πόθεν καὶ τί μέλλει ποιεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐθ' ἐπειδὴ περ οὗτως ἔχομεν, τὰ ἡμέτερον αὐτῶν σ πράττειν ἔβλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς τῆς πόλεως λέγοντας ἔξια ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις τούτοις συναγωνιζόμεθα. "Ὑμεῖς μέν τοι εἰώθατε ἔκάστοτε τὸν παριόντα ἐρωτῆν τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν; Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐρωτήσουις βούλομαι τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; εἰ γάρ μήτε εἰσοιστε, μήτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθε, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀφέξεσθε, μήτε τὰς συντάξεις δώσετε, μήτε δο' ἀν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορίσηται ἔσσετε, μήτε τὰ ὑμέτερον αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐθελήσετε, οὐκ ἔχω τέ λέγω. Εἰ γάρ ηδη τοσούτην ἔξουσίαν τοῖς αἰτιᾶσθαι καὶ διαβάλλειν βουλομένοις δίδοτε, ώστε καὶ περ ὡν φασι μέλλειν **Δ** αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ περ τούτων προκατηγορούντων ἀκροάσθε, τί ἀν τις λέγοι;

**6** "Ο τι τοίνυν δύναται ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐνίοις μαθεῖν ὑμῶν δεῖ. Λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρθησίας· καὶ γάρ οὐδὲ ἀν ἄλλως δυναμην. Πάντες δοι ποτ' ἐκπεπλέκασι παρ' ὑμῶν στρατηγοῖ, η ἐγὼ πάσχειν ὄτιον τιμῶμαι, καὶ παρὰ Χίων καὶ παρὰ Ἐρυθραίων καὶ παρ' ὡν ἀν ἔκαστοι δύνωνται, τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων λέγω, χρήματα λαμβάνοντοι. Λαμβάνουστ δὲ οι μὲν ἔχοντες μίαν η δύο ναῦς ἐλάττονα, οἱ δὲ μείζω δύναμιν πλείστα. Καὶ διδέσσιν οι διδόντες οὔτε τὰ μικρὰ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ ἀντ' οὐδενός (οι γάρ οὕτω μαίνονται),

ἀλλ' ὡνούμενοι μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκπλέοντας Λ  
ἐμπόρους, μὴ συλλασθαι, παρατέμπεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ αὐτῶν,  
τὰ τοιαῦτα· φασὶ δὲ εἴνοις διδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦντοι ἔχει  
τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα. Καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τῷ Διοκείθει στράτευμ<sup>1</sup>  
ἔχοντι σαφῶς ἐστι τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι δώσουσι χρήματα πάντες  
οὗτοι· πόθεν γάρ οἰσθε ἄλλοθεν τὸν μήτε λαβόντα παρ'  
ὑμῶν μηδὲν μήτε αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ὀπόθεν μισθωδοτήσει στρατι-  
ώτας τρέφειν; ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; οὐκ ἐστι ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν  
ἀγείρειν καὶ προσαγεῖν καὶ δανείζεται, ἀπὸ τούτων διάγει.  
Οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγόροις ἐν ὑμῖν, ή προ-  
λέγουσιν ἄπασι μηδὲ ὄπιον ἐκείνων, ὡς καὶ τοῦ μελῆ<sup>2</sup> Β  
σαι δώσοντι δίκην, μή τι ποιήσαντι γε ή κατακραξαμένη.  
Τοῦτ<sup>3</sup> εἰστιν οἱ λόγοι· μέλλει πολιορκεῖν, τοὺς "Ελληνας ἐκδί-  
δωσι· μέλλει γάρ τινι τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων Ἐλλή-  
νων" ἀμείνοντις μὲν τὰν εἰναι τῶν ἀλλων ή τῆς πατρίδος  
κήδεσθαι. Καὶ τό γε εἰς τὸν Ἐλλήστορον εἰσπέμπτιν  
ἔτερον στρατηγὸν τοῦτ<sup>4</sup> ἐστίν. Εἰ γάρ δεινὰ ποιεῖ Διοκείθης  
καὶ κατάγει τὰ πλοῖα, μικρόν, ἢ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρὸν  
πινάκιον ταῦτα πάντα κωλῦσαι δύνατ<sup>5</sup> ἄν, καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ  
νύμοι, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰσαγγέλλειν, οὐ μὰ Δία δακά-  
ναις καὶ τρήψεις τοσαύτας ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ο  
γ' ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ μανίας· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἔχθρούς, οὓς οὐκ  
ἔστι λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ τρή-  
ψεις ἐκπέμπειν καὶ χρήματα εἰσφέρειν δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν,  
ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ψήφισμα, εἰσαγγελία, Πάραλος, ταῦτ<sup>6</sup>  
ἐστίν. Ταῦτ<sup>7</sup> ήν εὖ φρονούντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπηρεαζόντων δὲ  
καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ πράγματα, ἢ νῦν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν. Καὶ  
τὸ μὲν τούτων τιγὰς εἰναι τοιούτους δεινὸν διν οὐ δεινόν ἐστιν·  
ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι οὗτως ηδη δράκεισθε δότε, ἀν μέν τις  
εἴπη παρελθὼν ὅτι Διοκείθης ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν πάντων αἵτιος  
ἡ Χάρης ή Ἀριστοφῶν ή διν ἀν τῶν πολιτῶν εἴπη τις, εἰδένεις Ζ  
φατὲ καὶ θορυβεῖτε ὡς ὄρθως λέγει· ἀν δὲ παρελθὼν λέγη  
τις τάληθη, ὅτι "Ληρεῖτε, ἡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι" πάντων τῶν  
κακῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων Φίλιππός ἐστιν αἵτιος· εἰ  
γάρ ἐκεῖνος ἤγειν ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἀν. ήν πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει,<sup>8</sup>  
ώς μὲν οὖν ἀληθῆ ταῦτ<sup>9</sup> ἐστὶν οὐν ἔξετε ἀντιλέγειν, ἄχθεσθαι  
δέ μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπολλύναι τι νομίζειν. Λίτιον δὲ  
τούτων (καὶ μοι πρὸς θεῶν, διατι ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω,  
ἔστω παρέργασία)<sup>10</sup> παρεσκευάσασιν ὡρᾶς τῶν πολιτευομένων  
ἔνιοι ἐν μέν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φοβεροὺς καὶ χαλεπούς, ἐν δὲ  
ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου φρεβύμονς καὶ εὐκαταφρο-

**Α** συνεστηκὸς τοῦτο συμμενεῖ στράτευμα ὁρᾶγ καὶ πράττειν, ἵν  
διπερ ἔκεινος ἔτοιμον ἔχει δύναμιν τὴν ἀδικήσουσαν καὶ  
καταδουλωσμένην ἀπαντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὗτω τὴν σώσου-  
σαν ὑμεῖς καὶ βοηθήσουσαν ἀπασιγ ἔτοιμον ἔχητε. Οὐ γάρ  
ἔστι βοηθείας χρωμένους οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξαι,  
ἀλλὰ κατασκευάσαντας δεῖ δύναμιν, καὶ τροφὴν ταύτην πορί-  
σαντας καὶ ταμίας καὶ δημοσίους, καὶ δπως ἐνι τὴν τῶν χρη-  
μάτων φυλακὴν ἀκριβεστάτην γενέσθαι, οὗτω ποιήσαντας,  
τὸν μὲν τῶν χρημάτων λόγον παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν, τὸν  
δὲ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. Κάν οὗτω ποιήσητε καὶ  
β τότε ἐθελήσητε ὡς ἀλλοθῆς, ἄγειν εἰρήνην δικαίαν, μένειν ἐπὶ  
τῆς αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ἀναγκάσετε, οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ἀν γένοιτ'  
ἀγαθόν, η πολεμήσετ' ἔξ ίσουν.

**8** Εἰ δέ τῷ δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ δαπάνης μεγάλης καὶ πόνων πολ-  
λῶν καὶ πραγματείας εἶναι, καὶ μάλα ὄρθως δοκεῖ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν  
λογίζηται τὰ τῇ πόλει μετά ταῦτα γενησύμενα, ἀν ταῦτα μὴ  
ἐθέλῃ, εὑρίσκει λυστελοῦν τὸ ἐκόντας ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα. Εἰ  
μὲν γάρ ἔστι τις ἐγγυητὴς θεῶν (οὐ γάρ ἀνθρώπων γ' οὐδεὶς  
ἀν γένοιτο ἀξιόχρεως τηλικούτουν πράγματος) ὡς, ἀν ἀγηθὸν  
ἥσυχίαν καὶ ἀπαντα πρόσθε, οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τελευτῶν  
c ἔκεινος ήξει, αἰσχρὸν μὲν νη τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς  
καὶ ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καὶ πεπραγ-  
μένων τοῖς προγόνοις, τῆς ιδίας ἔνεκα φρυμίας τοὺς ἀλλους  
πάντας Ἑλληνας εἰς δουλείαν προέσθαι, καὶ ἔγωγε αὐτὸς  
μὲν τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἀν ἡ ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι βουλοίμην· οὐ μὴν  
ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἄλλος λέγει καὶ ὑμᾶς πείθει, ἔστω, μὴ ἀμύνεσθε,  
ἀπαντα πρόσθε. Εἰ δὲ μηδενὶ τοῦτο μηδὲ δοκεῖ, τοιναντίον  
δὲ πρόσιμεν ἀπαντεῖ, δη δσφ ἀν πλειόνων ἔάσωμεν ἔκεινον  
γενέσθαι κύριον, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ καὶ ισχυροτέρῳ χρησό-  
μεθα ἔχθρῳ, ποι ἀναδύνεθα η τι μέλλομεν; η πότε, ᾖ  
**δ** ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθελήσομεν; δταν νη Δί<sup>τη</sup>  
ἀναγκαῖον η. Ἄλλ' ή μὲν ἀν τις ἐλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων  
ἀνάγκην εἴποι, οὐ μόνον ηδη πάρεστιν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλαι παρ-  
ελήλυθε· τὴν δὲ τῶν δούλων ἀπέύχεσθαι δήκου μὴ γενέσθαι  
δεῖ. Διαφέρει δὲ τι; δη ἔστιν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ  
μεγίστη ἀνάγκη η ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνομένων αἰσχύνη, καὶ μείζω  
ταῦτης οὐκ οιδη ηντιν' ἀν εἴποιμεν· δούλῳ δὲ πληγαὶ καὶ ο τοῦ  
σώματος αἰκισμός, α μήτε γένοιτ' οὔτε λέγειν ἀξιον.

**9** Πάντα τοίνυν τὰλλ', εἰπὼν ἀν ηδέως, καὶ δείξας δη τρόπον  
ὑμᾶς ἔνιοι καταπολιτεύονται, τὰ μὲν ἀλλα ἔάσω· ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν  
τι τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμπέσῃ, εὐθὺς ἀναστάς τις λέγει τὸ

τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ τρέφειν δόκαμιν μεγάλην ὡς χαλεπόν, καὶ “διαρπάζειν τινὲς τὰ χρήματα βούλονται” καὶ τοιούτους λόγους, ἐξ ἣν ἀναβάλλοντι μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἡσυχίαν δὲ ποιοῦσιν ἔκείνῳ πράττειν δὲ τι βούλεται. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων περιγίγνεται ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ σχολὴ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἡδη ποιεῖν, ἀ δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ ποθῇ ἡγήσεσθε ἐπὶ πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι, τούτοις δὲ αἱ χαρτεῖς καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ὁ τούτων. Ἔγὼ δὲ οἶμαι τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν οὐχ ὑμᾶς δεῖν πείθειν, οἱ πεπισμένοι καθησθε, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττοντα· ἀντὶ γάρ ἔκεινος πεισθῆ, τὰ γ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἔτοιμα ὑπάρχειν· νομίζειν δὲ εἴναι χαλεπὰ οὐχ δόσ' ἀντὶ εἰς σωτηρίαν δαπανῶμεν, β ἀλλ' ἀ πεισθέμενοι, ἀν ταῦτα μὴ ἔθελομεν ποιεῖν, δι' ἣς σωθῆσται, κωλύειν, οὐχὶ τῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀφεστάναι. Κατοις ἔγωγε ἀγανακτῶ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ μὲν χρήματα λυτεῖ τινας ὑμῶν, εἰ διαρπασθήσεται, ἀ καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔστι, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν οὐτωσὶ Φίλιππος ἐφεξῆς ἀρπάζων οὐ λυτεῖ, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀρπάζων.

Τί ποτ' οὖν ἔστι τὸ αἴτιον ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ τὸν μὲν 10 οὗτα φανερώς στρατεύοντα, ἀδικοῦντα, πόλεις καταλαμβάσοντα, μηδένα τούτων τώτοτ' εἰπεῖν ὡς πόλεμον ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν μηδὲ προέσθαι ταῦτα συμβούλευοντας, τούτους τὸν πόλεμον ποιήσειν αἰτιάσθαι; Ἔγὼ διδάξω διτι τὴν ὀργὴν ἣν εἰκός ἔστι γενέσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἀν τι λυπήσθε τῷ πολέμῳ, εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγοντας τὰ βέλτιστα τρέψας βούλονται, ἵνα τούτους κρίνητε, μὴ Φίλιππον ἀμύνησθε, καὶ κατηγορῶσιν αὐτοῖ, μὴ δίκην δῶσιν ὡν ποιοῦσι νῦν. Τοῦτον αὐτοῖς δύναται τὸ λέγειν ὡς ἄρα βούλονται πόλεμόν τινες ποιῆσαι παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτους ἡ διαδικασία αὕτη ἔστιν. Ἔγὼ δὲ οἶδα ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐ γράψαντος Ἀθηναίων οὐδενός πα πόλεμον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ Φίλιππος ἔχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ νῦν εἰς Καρδίαν πέτομφε βοηθείαν. Εἴ μέντοι βουλόμεθ' ἡμεῖς μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι πόλεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν, ἀνοητότατος πάντων ἀν τῶν οὗτων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τοῦτο ἐξελέγχοι. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἴη, τι φήσομεν; ἔκεινος μὲν γάρ οὐ πόλεμεῖν, διπέρ οὐδὲ Ὀφείταις τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὗτων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐδὲ Φεραίοις πρότερον, πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβάλλων αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ Ὁλυνθίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἐντὸς τῆς χώρᾳ τὸ στράτευμα παρῆν ἔχων. \*Η καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι τελεύοντας πόλεμον ποιεῖν φήσομεν; οὐκούν ὑπόλοιπον δου-

Δ λεύειν· οὐ γάρ ἄλλο γ' οὐδέν ἔστι μεταξὺ τοῦ μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μήτ' ἀγειν ἡσυχίαν ἔασθαι. Καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἵσων ὑμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσθ' ὁ κίνδυνος· οὐ γάρ ὑφ' αὐτῷ τὴν τολμὴν τοιήσασθαι βούλεται Φίλιππος, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀνελεῖν. Οἴδε γάρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι δουλεύειν μὲν ὑμεῖς οὔτ' ἐθελήσετε οὔτ', ἀν ἐθελήσητε, ἐπιστήσεσθε (ἄρχειν γάρ εἰώθατε), πράγματα δ' αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ἀν καιρὸν λάβῃτε, πλείω τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων δυνήσεσθε.

11 Ός οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων ὄντος τοῦ ἀγῶνος προσήκει, οὕτω γιγνόσκειν, καὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας αὐτοὺς ἐκείνῳ μισεῖν <sup>β</sup> καὶ ἀποτυμπανίσαις· οὐ γάρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἔχθρων κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλεις κολάσσῃ ἔχθρούς. Πάθεν σίεσθε νῦν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲν γάρ ἄλλο ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο) καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εν τοιοῦτα, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἔξαπατάν, ὑμῖν δ' ἀπειλεῖν ἡδη; οὔον Θετταλοὺς πολλὰ δοὺς ἐπηγάγετο εἰς τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν δουλείαν· οὐδὲ ἀν εἰτείν δύναιτ' οὐδεὶς δύσα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Ὀλυνθίους πρότερον δοὺς Ποτίδαιαν ἔκηπάτησε καὶ πᾶλλ' ἔτερα· Θηβαίους τὰ νῦν ὑπάγει τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτοῖς παραδόντες καὶ ἀταλλάξας πολέμου πολλοῦ καὶ χαλεποῦ· <sup>σ</sup> οὗτε καρτωσάμενοι τινα ἕκαστοι τούτων πλεονεξίαν οἱ μὲν ἡδη πεπόνθασιν δὲ δὴ πάντες ἴσσασιν, οἱ δὲ δταν ποτὲ συμβῆ πείσονται. Υμεῖς δὲ μν μὲν ἀπεστέρησθε, σωπῶ· ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην τοιήσασθαι πόσα ἔκηπάτησθ! πόσων ἀπεστέρησθε! οὐχὶ Φωκέας, οὐ Πύλας, οὐχὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, Δορίσκον, Σάρριον, τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην αὐτὸν; οὐ νῦν τὴν πόλιν τὴν Καρδιαγῶν ἔχει καὶ δμολογεῖ; τι ποτ' οὖν ἐκείνως τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν προσφέρεται; ὅτι ἐν μόνῃ τῷ πασῶν πόλεων τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀδεια ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρων λέγειν δέδοται, καὶ λαβόντα χρήματ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλές <sup>δ</sup> ἔστι λέγειν παρ' ὑμῖν, καν ἀσφαλέμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἦτε. Οὐκ ἡν ἀσφαλές λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τὰ Φιλίππου μὴ συνεπεκονθότων τῶν πολλῶν Ὀλυνθίων τῷ Ποτίδαιαν καρκοῦσθαι· οὐκ ἡν ἀσφαλές λέγειν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τὰ Φιλίππους μηδὲν εὖ πεκονθότος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Θετταλῶν τῷ τοὺς τυράννους ἐκβαλεῖν Φιλίππους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδοῦνται· οὐκ ἡν ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλές, πρὶν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀνείλεν. Ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησιν οὐ μόνον Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Καρδιαγῶν χώραν ἀπεστερηκότος Φιλίππου, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευάζοντος ὑμῖν ἐπιτείχισμα τὴν Εύβοιαν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον παριόντας, ἀσφαλές ἔστι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου.

Τοιγάρτοι τούτων μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν ἔνιοι ταχὺ πλούσιοι γίγνονται καὶ οὐκέτι ἀκρωτόμων καὶ ἀδόξων ἐνδοξοῖς, καὶ γνώριμοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοιναῖτον ἐκ μὲν ἐνδόξων ἀδοξοῖς, ἐκ δὲ εὐπόρων ἀποροῦ πόλεως γὰρ ἔγνωγε πλουτὸν ἡγούμας συμμάχους πίστιν εὑνοιαν, ἢν ἀπάντων ἐσθὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποροῦ. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τούτων ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν καὶ ἔξην ταῦτα στέρεσθαι ὁ μὲν εὐδαίμων καὶ μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς πᾶσιν "Ελλησὶ καὶ βαρβάροις, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔρημοι καὶ τακεινοί, τῇ τῶν ὄντων ἀφονίᾳ λαμπροί, τῇ δὲ ὅλῃ προσῆκε παρασκευῇ καταγέλαστοι. Οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον περὶ ὅμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνίους τῶν λεγόντων ὅρᾳ βουλευομένους ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν φασὶ δεῖν, κανεὶς δὲ τοιναῖτον ἀδικῆ, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ δύνανται παρ' ὅμινην ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν οὐδενὸς αὐτούς ἀδικοῦντος.

Ἐιτά φησιν δὲ ἀν τόχῳ παρελθὼν "οὐ γὰρ ἔθελεις γράψειν οὐδὲ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολομος εἰ καὶ μαλακός." Ἔγὼ δὲ θρασὺς μὲν καὶ βεδελυρὸς καὶ ἀναιδῆς οὖθ' εἰμὶ μήτε γενούμην, ἀνδρειότερον μέντοι πολλῷ πάντας τῶν ἰταμῶς πολιτευομένων παρ' ὅμινην ἐμαυτὸν ἡγούμααι. "Οστις μὲν γάρ, οὐδὲρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παρεδόντες ἀ συνοίσει τῇ πόλει, κρίνει δημεύει δίδωσι κατηγορεῖ, οὐδεμιῇ ταῦτ' ἀνδρείᾳ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐνέχυρον τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας τὸ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν λέγειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς θρασύς ἐστιν· δοτὶς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου πολλὰ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐναντιοῦται βουλήμασι, καὶ μηδὲν λέγει πρὸς χάριν ἀλλὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀεί, καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν προαιρεῖται ἐν ἡ πλειόνων ἡ τύχη κυρία γίγνεται η οἱ λογισμοὶ, τούτων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἐαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὑμῖν παρέχει, οὐτός ἐστ' ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ χρήσιμος πολίτης ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐστιν, οὐχ οἱ τῆς παρ' ἡμέραν χάριτος τὰ μέγιστα τῆς πόλεως ἀπολωλεκότες, οὐδὲ ἔγων τοσούτου δέων ζηλοῦν η νομίζειν ἀξιούς πολίτας τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, ὃστ' εἴ τις ἔροιτό με "εἰπέ μοι, σὺ δὲ τί τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν πεποίκας;" ἔχων οὐδὲρες Δ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τρυπαρχίας εἰπεῖν καὶ χορηγίας καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφοράς καὶ λύσεις αἰχμαλωτῶν καὶ τοιαυτας ἀλλας φιλανθρωπίας, οὐδὲν ἢν τούτων εἴποιμι, ἀλλ' δοτὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολιτευμάτων οὐδὲν πολιτεύομαι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμενος ἢν ἴσως, δοτερος καὶ ἔρεος, καὶ κατηγορεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ δημεύειν καὶ τάλλ' οὐ ποιοῦσιν οὗτοι ποιεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἓν τούτων πότοτ' ἐμαυτὸν ἔταξα οὐδὲ προΐχθην οὖθ' ὑπὸ κέρδους οὖθ' ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ λέγων ἐξ ὧν ἔγων μὲν πολλῶν ἐλάττων εἰμὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὑμεῖς δέ, εἰ πείθεσθε μοι, μείζους ἢν εἴητε οὗτοι γαρ ἢν ἴσως ἀνεπίθυμον εἰπεῖν. Οὐδὲ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ δικαιόν τοῦτον·

**Α** είναι πολίτου, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύμαθ' εὑρίσκειν ἐξ ὃν ἐγὼ μὲν πρῶτος ὑμῶν ἔσομαι εὐθέως, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὑστατοῖ· ἀλλὰ συναυξάνεσθαι δεῖ τὴν πόλεν τοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν πολιτεύμασι, καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀεί, μὴ τὸ ῥᾶστον ἄκαντας λέγειν· ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν γάρ η φύσις αὐτῇ βαδιεῖται, ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖ προάγεσθαι διδάσκοντα τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.

**13** "Ηδη τοίνυν τινὸς ἡκουσα τοιοῦτόν τι λέγοντος, ώς ἄρα ἐγὼ λέγω μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ βέλτιστα, ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ λόγοι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ, δεῖ δὲ ἔργων τῇ πόλει καὶ πράξεως τίνος. Ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἔχω περὶ τούτων, λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐν ἀποκρύψομαι. Οὐδὲ εἶναι νομίζω τοῦ συμβουλεύοντος ὑμῖν ἔργον οὐδὲν πλήν εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα. Καὶ τοῦθ' διτὶ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, ὅφδίως οἷμαι δεῖξειν. "Ιστε γάρ δῆπους τοῦθ', διτὶ Τιμόθεος πτοντος ἐκεῖνος ἐν ὑμῖν ἐδημητηρόρησεν ως δεῖ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας σώζειν, διτὶ Θηβαῖοι κατεδουλοῦντο αὐτούς, καὶ λέγων εἰπεῖν οὗτω πως· "εἰπέ μοι, βουλεύεσθε" ἐφη "Θηβαίους ἔχοντες ἐν νήσῳ, τι χρήσοσθε καὶ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν; οὐκ ἐμπλήσετε τὴν θάλατταν ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τρήψων; οὐκ ἀναστάντες ἡδη πορεύσοσθε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ; οὐ καθέλξετε τὰς ναῦς;" οὐκοῦν εἰπε μὲν ταῦτα δὲ Τιμόθεος, ἐποίησατε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐν δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πράγμα ἐπράχθη. Εἰ δὲ ὁ μὲν εἰπειν ώς οἶόν τε τὰ ἄριστα, ὥσπερ εἰπειν, υμεῖς δὲ ἀπερ-ράθυμήσατε καὶ μηδὲν ὑπηκούσατε, δρὸν ἣν ἦν γεγονός τι τῶν τότε συμβάντων τῇ πόλεις; οὐχ οἶόν τε. Οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ λέγω, τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε, τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα ἐπιστήμη λέγειν παρὰ τοῦ παριόντος.

**14** "Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἀλέγω φράσας καταβῆναι βούλομαι. Χρήματα εἰσφέρειν φημὶ δεῖγ, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν συν-έχειν, ἐπανορθοῦντας εἴ τι δοκεῖ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν, μὴ δοσοὶ ἄν δ τις αἰτιάσῃται τὸ δόλον καταλυνοντας· πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπειν πανταχοῖ τοὺς διδάξοντας νουθετήσοντας πράξοντας· παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δωροδακοῦντας κολάζειν καὶ μισεῖν πανταχοῦ, ἵν' οἱ μέτριοι καὶ δικαίους ἔαντοὺς παρ-έχοντες εἰν βεβουλεῦσθαι δοκῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἔαντοῖς. "Αν οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι χρῆσθε καὶ παίσησθε ὀλιγωροῦντες ἀπάντων, ἵσως ἀν, ἵσως καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ βελτίω γένοιτο. Εἰ μέντοι καθεδεῖσθε ἀχρι τοῦ θορυβησαι καὶ ἐπαινέσαι σπουδά-ζοντες, ἐὰν δέρη τι ποιεῖν ἀναδυόμενοι, οὐχ ὄρῳ λόγον δοτίες ἀνευ τοῦ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀ προσήκει δυνήσεται τὴν πόλιν σῶσαι.

## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ.

### ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Απλὴ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ἡ ὑπόθεσις· Φιλίππου γάρ λόγῳ μὲν εἰρήνην ἀγοντος, ἕργῳ δὲ πολλὰ ἀδικοῦντος, συμβουλεῖς τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς δὲ ὅτετωρ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς κινδύνου μεγάλου καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπικεφαμάνουν καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

Πολλῶν ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λόγων γεγνομένων ὀλίγου 1 δεῖν καθ' ἔκστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν Φιλίππος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Λερήνην ἐποίησατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πάντων οἰδὲ διτὶ φησάντων γ' αὐτούς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως ἔκεινος ταύσεται τῆς ὑβρίσεως καὶ δίκην δώσῃ, εἰς τοῦθ̄ ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ προειμένα ὄρῳ, ώστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάσφημον μὲν εἰπεῖν ἀληθὲς δὲ οὐ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἀκαντες ἐβούλαντο οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροπονεῖν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φανέστατος ἔμελλε τὰ πράγματα ἔξειν, οὐν ἀνὴροι μάσθαι χείρον ἡ νῦν διατεθῆναι. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἵστως αἴτια τούτων, καὶ οὐν παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα ἀφίκεται, μάλιστα δ', ἄν περ ἔξετά γητε ὄρθως, εὐρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ τὰ βελτιστα λέγειν προπρομένους, ὡν τινὲς μέν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται, ταῦτα φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόσειαν ἔχουσιν, ἔτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰγιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἡ ὅπως ἡ πόλις παρ' αὐτῆς δίκην λήψεται καὶ περὶ τοῦτον ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἔξεσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν δὲ τι βούλεται. Αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνήθεις μέν εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἴτιαι δὲ τῶν κακῶν. Ἄξιος δὲ ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔτι τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρθησίας λέγω, μηδὲμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὄφγῆν γενέσθαι. Σκοπεῖτε γάρ ὧδι. Ὅμεις τὴν παρθησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω κοινὴν οὔσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ώστε καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ἡμῖν μετά πλειονος ἔξουσίας δὲ τι βούλονται λέγοντας ἡ πολίτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν παντάπασιν ἔξεληλάκατε. Εἴθ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφῇ καὶ κολα-

Λ κεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἡδη κινδυνεύειν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω· εἰ δὲ συμφέρει χωρὶς κολακείας ἑθελήσετε ἀκούειν, ἔτοιμος λέγειν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάντα φαύλως τὰ πράγματα ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προ-εἶται, δῆμος ἔστιν, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βούλησθε· ἔτι πάντα ταῦτα ἐπανορθώσασθαι. Καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἵσως ἔστιν δὲ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ τὸ χείριστον ἐν τοῖς παρ-εληλύθοσι, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βελτιστον ὑπάρχει. Τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπει τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ὁ προσῆκε πραττόντων οὕτω δέκειτο, οὐδὲ ἄν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτά γενέσθαι βελτίω. Νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν φρασμάσις τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμελείας κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δὲ οὐ κεκράτη-κεν· οὐδὲ θητησθε ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε.

2 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστι τοῦτο, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ἄρκεια, φημὶ ἔγωγε ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγυντα γράφειν καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξιῶ· εἰ δὲ ἔτερος τὰ δικαία ἐν ταῖς χεροῖν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦνομα μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης σὺνμην προβάλλει, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς πολέμου χρῆται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν δὲ εἰρήνην ἄγειν, εἰ βούλεσθε, δισπερ ἔκεινος, οὐ διαφέρομαι. Εἰ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐξ ἣς ἔκεινος πάντα τάλλα λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔχει, πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἐπειγα ἔκεινψ παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑμὲν παρ' ἔκεινον τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει· τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν δὲ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιππος ὠνείται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι.

3 Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἔως ἂν ἡμῖν ὁμο-λογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμὲν εὐηθέστατοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν θαδίζῃ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τοῦτ' ἔρει, εἴ περ οἵς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποίκη δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ὁλυνθίοις τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια εἰπεν δτε δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἔκεινος ἐν Ὁλυνθῷ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτό τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους· τοῦτο δὲ εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἡσαν οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ πορευομένψ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἡριζον οἱ πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν ἔκεινον πάροδον. Καὶ μὴν καὶ Φεράς πρόφην ὡς φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει

απαλαζόντων, εἰδί τα γελευτέοις τοῖς τελειώτηροις Ὀφέταις οἱ τοστοὶ ἐπιστρέψομέντος ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπορφέρους εἰπεῖν· εἴπομεν πονθάνεσθαι γάρ αὐτὸν ὃς τοσσοῦν καὶ στασιάζειν, συγράχων δὲ εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀλφιτῶν ἐν τοῖς τοσότοις σπιρῆς περέντα. Ήττ' οὔσεθεν αὐτόν, οὐ ἐπιτίσαν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀντικόν, μὴ παθεῖν δὲ ἀφολάξαντ' ἀντίκας, τοστοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατήσαντες αἵρεσθαι μᾶλλον ηγετέοστα βιάζεσθαι, ὅμην δὲ τροφήσαντες παλερήσουν, εἰδί ταῦθι ἡνὶ ἀντίστατα πάσθε; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γάρ ἀντί ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη τάντοις ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τὸν ἀδικοπέτων ὑπὸν μαρέν ἐγκαλούστων αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸν αὐτῶν τοις αἰτιωμένων, ἐκεῖνος ἐκλύσας εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρη τὸν καὶ φιλοτεσαίνειν ἐφ' ἀντὶ τὸν προετοί τρέπεσθαι, εἰδί τὸν ταῦθι ἀντοῦν μισθωφορούστων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἀντιβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ως ἐκεῖνος γε οὐ παλερεῖ τῇ πόλει.

'Αλλ' ἔστιν, ω̄ τρὸς τοῦ Διός, δοτεὶς εἶ φρονῶν ἐκ τῶν ὅπο- 4  
ράντων μᾶλλον η̄ τὸν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγνοντ' εἰρήνην η̄ πολε-  
μῶντος ἐστῶντος σκέψαις' ἂν; οὐδεὶς δῆπος. 'Ο τάντον Φιλίτ-  
τος εἶ ἀρχῆς, δρῦ τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονός, σύντονος Διοτείθους  
οπραγμάτωντος οὐδὲ τὸν ὅπτον ἐν Χερρόνηρ τὸν ἀπεσταλ-  
μένον, Σέρρων καὶ Δορίστων ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερρίους  
τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους οπραγμάτως ἐξίβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ ὑπέρτερος  
οπραγμάτευε πετέστητο. Καίτοι ταῦτα πράγματα τί ἔποιε; Εἰρήνην  
μὲν γὰρ ὄφρωράσει. Καὶ μηδὲς εἴτη, τί δὲ τοῦτο  
ἔστιν, η̄ τί ταῦτα μέλει τῇ πόλει; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μερὰ ταῦτα η̄  
μηδὲν ὄπις εἰτῶν ἔμελος, ὅλος ἀν εἴη λόγος οὗτος· τὸ δ'  
εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀν τ' ἐπὶ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ ἀν τ' ἐπὶ μείζονος  
παραβίαιγχη, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δόνταμιν. Φέρε δὴ τὸν ἡρίκ' εἰς  
Χερρόνησον, θντούς τοι τάστες οἱ Ἐλληνες ὀρετέρων  
ἔγνωσαν εἶναι, ζένους εἰστίκτει καὶ βουθεῖν ὄφοδογει καὶ  
ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί τοιε; τρὶς μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ  
ταῦτάν δέ ταῦτα πιστῶτα ἐπείνοις ἄγειν ὄφοδογειν τὸν  
τρὸς ὄπρας εἰρήνην, δοτε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπόβρετον καὶ ἐν  
Βίθυνῃ πορευτίδα πιστεύεισθε τοι τὸν ἐπὶ Θράσην παρ-  
ιώντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκαπωρύρετον καὶ τάνθ, δοι  
πράγματα μετά τῆς δυνάμεως, πιστῶτα λένε φαρὶ τὴν εἰρήνην  
καὶ πολεμεῖν ὄπιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μαχαίρατα ἐφιστάντας  
εἰρήνην ἄγειν φένετε, ἵνα ἀν αὐτὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἥπη προ-  
άγωστον. 'Αλλ' οὐ φένετε· οὐ γάρ, οἰς ἀν ἐγὼ λαβθεῖσον,  
ταῦτα πράγματα καὶ πιστεύειν ὄφεντος, οὗτος ἔμοι πολεμεῖ,  
οὐν μάτια βιδύλλη μηδὲ ταῦτα.

λάν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίους τάκεινον φρονῆσαι. Εἴτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχάνημα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἴσταντα, τῶντον εἰρήνην ἀγειν ἔγώ φη πρὸς ὑμᾶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἣς ἡμέρας ἀνάλε Φωκέως, ἀπὸ ταῦτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν δρίζομαι. Ὑμᾶς δέ, ἐὰν ἀμύνησθε ήδη, σωφρονήσειν φημί, ἐὰν δὲ ἔσσητε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν βούλησθε δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι. Καὶ τισοῦτόν γε ἀφέστηκα τῶν ἀλλων ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν συμβουλευόντων, ὥστε οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερφονήσου <sup>β</sup> νῦν σκοτεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου, ἀλλ' ἐπαρνῦαι μὲν τούτοις, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μή τι πάθωσι, βούλευεσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάτων τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστώτων. Βούλομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἣν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν' εἰ μὲν δρθῶς λογίζομαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόσοιάν τιν' ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσησθε, ἀν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὖθις ὡς ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.

5 "Οτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλεππος ηὔξηται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἐλληνες, καὶ διτὶ πολλῷ παραδοξότερον ἡν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑκείνου γενέσθαι ἡ νῦν, δόθ' οὕτω πολλὰ προειληφε, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιησασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' δσα τοιαῦτ' ἀν ἔχοιμι διεκελθεῖν, παραλείψω. Ἀλλ' ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ ὑπέρ οὐ τὸν ἄλλον ἀπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἐλληνικοί. Τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; τὸ πατεῖν δὲ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ' ἔνα οὐτωσι περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἐλλήνων, καὶ καραδοσοῦνθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπίσιτα. Καίτοι προστάται μὲν ὑμῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ γρία τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, πρὸ στάται δὲ τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἵσχυσαν δέ τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τουτούσι τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λευκτροῖς μάχην. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαῖοι οὔτε Δακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπάποτε, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ποιεῖν δὲ τι βούλασθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότε οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες φοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἔγκαλειν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ἡδικημένων πολεμεῖν, καὶ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀρξασι καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπεκείρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα ἔκινον,

καταλαβάνει, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς ταλαιπώροις Ὀρείταις καὶ τουτοισὶ ἐπισκεψομένους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ' εὔνοιαν· πυνθάνεσθαι γάρ αὐτοὺς ὡς νοοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν, συμμάχων δὲ εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰαιροῖς παρεῖναι. Εἴτ' οἵσος<sup>6</sup> αὐτόν, οἱ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀν κακόν, μὴ παθεῖν δὲ ἐφυλάξαντ' ἀν ἵσως τούτους μὲν ἐξαπαγῆν αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δὲ ἐκ προρήσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἔως ἂν ἔκοντες ἔξαπατᾶσθε; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα<sup>7</sup> καὶ γάρ ἄν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλούντων αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινας αἰτιωμένων, ἐκεῖνος ἐκλύσας<sup>8</sup> τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλογεικίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλοιστο, οἱς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκεῖνός γε οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει.

'Αλλ' ἔστιν, ὡς πρὸς τοῦ Διός, δοστις εὗ φρονῶν ἐκ τῶν ὅνο- 4 μάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἢ πολεμοῦνθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαστε' ἀν; οὐδεὶς δῆκτον. 'Ο τοίνυν Φίλιππος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὐκως Διοπείθους στρατηγούντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερβόνησφ<sup>9</sup> νῦν ἀπεσταλμένων, Σερρίουν καὶ Δορίσκουν ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐπει Σερρίουν<sup>10</sup> τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας ἐξέβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς κατέστησεν. Καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων τί ἐποιεῖ; εἰρήνην μὲν γάρ μικρὰ ταῦτα ἢ μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἀλλος ἀν εἴη λόγος οὗτος· τὸ δὲ εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀν τ' ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἀν τ' ἐπὶ μείζονος παραβαίνη, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. Φέρε δὴ νῦν ἡνίκ' εἰς Χερβόνησον, ην βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ "Ἐλληνες ὅμετέραν ἔγνώκασιν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ; φῆς μὲν γάρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ τοσούτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐκεῖνον ἄγειν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, ώστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευάζοντα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκην παριόντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ', δσα πράττει μετά τῆς δυνάμεως, ποιοῦντα λύειν φημὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἔως ἀν αὐτὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν ήδη προσάγωσιν. 'Αλλ' οὐ φήσετε<sup>11</sup> ὁ γάρ, οἰς ἀν ἐγὼ ληφθείην, ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, καν μῆτω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. Τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κιγδυνεύσαιτε'<sup>12</sup>

▲ ἄν, εἰ τι γένοιτο; τῷ τὸν Ἐλλάσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάφων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίους τάκείνου φρονῆσαι. Εἴτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μαρχάνημα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰστάγτα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἀγειν ἔγώ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἣς ἡμέρας ἀνείδει Φιλέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν δρίζομαι. Υμᾶς δέ, ἔαν ἀμύνησθε ἡδη, σωφρονήσειν φημί, ἔαν δὲ ἔασθητε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν βούλησθε δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι. Καὶ τισσοῦτόν γε ἀφέστηκα τῶν ἀλλων ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν συρβουλευόντων, ὅτε οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερφονήσου **Β** νῦν σκοτεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου, ἀλλ' ἐπαμύνγαι μὲν τούτοις, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μὴ τι πάθωσι, βουλεύεσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστώτων. Βούλομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ τῶν πραιγμάτων οὗτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν' εἰ μὲν ὅρθως λογίζομαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἅρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσασθε, ἄν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὐθίς ὡς ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.

**5** "Οτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος ηὔηται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς **с** αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἐλληνες, καὶ διτὶ πολλῷ παραδοξότερον ἡν τοσοῦτον αἰνὸν ἐξ ἑκένου γενέσθαι ἡ νῦν, δοθ' οὗτω πολλὰ προελλήφε, καὶ τὰ λοιπά ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' δοσα τοιαῦτ' ἣν ἔχομει διεκλεθεῖν, παραλείψω. Ἀλλ' ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ οὐ τὸν ἄλλον ἀπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἐλληνικοί. Τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; τὸ παλεῖν δ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ' ἔνα οὐτωσι περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἐλλήνων, καὶ καραβολοῦσθαι τὰς τόλεις ἐπίοντα. Κακοι προστάγαι μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προ-**δ** στάγαι δὲ τριάκοντα ἔνας δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἴσχυσαν δέ τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τουτοιοὶ τοὺς τελεταῖους χρέωνται μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαῖοις οὔτε Δακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπώποτε, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ'. ὅπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ποιεῖν δ τι βαύλωσθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναῖοις, ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες φοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ἡδικημένων πολεμεῖν, καὶ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις δρκασι καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπεχειρούν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα ἔκινον,

πάντες τις πόλεμον κατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἔγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς. Καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὗτοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν ἀν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ τι ἥδικούμενον ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων, δῆμος ὑπὲρ ἣν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικούμενονς ἐώραμεν, πολεμεῖν φόμεθα δεῖν. Καί τοι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐξημάρτηται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ' ἑκαίνοις ἔτεσιν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνοις ἐν τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττονα ἔστιν, ἃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃν Φιλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα σύχῃ δλοῖς ἔτεσιν οἵτις ἐπιπολάζει ἥδικη τοὺς "Ἐλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ πέμπτον μέρος τούτων ἔκεινα. "Ολυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἔστι, βασικῶν πόλεων ἀντίτικεν, ώστε μηδὲ εἰ τάπον<sup>τ</sup> γῆτηθησαν προσελθόντες εἴναι ράδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ Φιλέων ἔθνος τοσούτον ἀνηρράμενον συστῶ. Ἀλλὰ θετταλία τῷς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήργηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἄλλα καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύσωσιν; αἱ δὲ ἐν Εύβοιᾳ πόλεις οὐκ ἥδη τυραννοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν γῆσσῃ πλησίον Θηβῶν καὶ Ἀθηνῶν; οὐ διαφέρηδην εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς γράφει "ἔμοι δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὅμοι βουλομένους"; καὶ οἱ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις οὐκοῦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλήσκοντον οὔχεται, εἰ πρότερον ἤκει ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἡλιν ἔχει τηλικούτην πόλιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπιβεβύλευσε πρότην, οὕθ' ή Ἑλλὰς οὕθ' ή βάρβαρος τὴν πλευστέiam χωρεῖ τάνθράκον. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὅρωντες οἱ "Ἐλληνες" ἀπαντεῖς καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ πέμπτομεν πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἄλλήλους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦμεν, οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διαισθίει καὶ διορωτύγμεθα κατὰ πόλεις, φερτὸν δὲ τῆς τάχης πράξαις δυνάμεθα, οὐδὲ συστῆναι, οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν βοηθεῖται καὶ φιλίας σύδεματα ποιήσονται, ἄλλα μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἀνθρώπου περιορῶμεν τὸν χρόνον κερδάναι τοῦτον διν ἀλλος ἀπόλλυται ἐκαστος ἐγνωκώς, ως γ' ἔμοι δόκει, οὐχ ὅπως ὀνθίστηται τὰ τῶν "Ἐλλήνων" σκοπῶν οὐδὲ πράττων, ἐπεὶ δι τι γε δισταρ περίοδος η καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ η τινος ἀλλους τακοῦ καὶ τῷ πάντι πόρῳ δοκοῦνται νῦν ἀφεστάναν προσέρχεται, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. Καὶ μὴν κάτεινό γε ἴστε, οἵτις δοσα μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονιων η ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπασχον οἱ "Ἐλληνες", ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ γυπτοίων γε διτίων τῆς "Ἐλλάδες" ἡδικοῦντε, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν πρόπον δι τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ', δισταρ διν εἰ νίος ἐν οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ γεγονός γνήσιος διφει τη μη καλῶς μηδὲ ὄρθως, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦτο ἄξειν μέριψειε εἴπε-

**Δ** καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς δὲ οὐ προσήκων οὐδὲ οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ὃν ταῦτα ἐποίει, οὐκ ἔνειναι λέγειν. Εἰ δέ γε δοῦλος ηὑποβολικαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπόλλυνε καὶ ἀλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλεις δοφ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὄργης ἀλιον πάντες ἀν ἐφῆσαν εἶναι! ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπέρ Φελίππου καὶ ὃν ἔκεινος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ "Ελληνος ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς "Ελλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρους ἐντεῦθεν διθεν καλὸν εἴπειν, ἀλλ' διέθρον Μακεδόνος, διθεν οὐδὲ ἀνδράποδον σκουδιῶν οὐδὲν ἣν πρότερον.

**6** Καίτοι τί τῆς ἑσχάτης ὑβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ τρὸς τῷ  
τούτῳ οὐδηρηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀγώνα, καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγωνισθέ-  
σοντας πέμπει; γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς δὲ χρὴ τρόπον πολι-  
τεύεσθαι; πέμπει δὲ ζένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμον  
ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἐρετρίεων, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' Ὀρεόν, τύραννον  
Φιλιστίδην καταστήσοντας; ἀλλ' διως ταῦθ' ὀρώντες οἱ  
Ἐλληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥστερ τὴν χάλαζαν  
ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ' ἔαντοὺς ἔκαστοι  
γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. Οὐ μόνον δὲ φ' οἵτινες  
ἡ Ἐλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑπέρ  
τοῦ αὐτὸς ἔκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γάρ ήδη τούτοις ἔστιν.  
Οὐ Καρινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα; οὐδὲ  
Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὁμώμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παραδώσειν; οὐδὲ  
Θηραίων Ἐχίγον ἀφῆρται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βιζαντίους πορεύε-  
ται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐδὲ ἡμῶν, ἐ�� τάλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερδονῆ-  
σου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχον-  
τες ἀπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζομεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλη-  
σίους βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἀλλήλους, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς  
ἀδικοῦντι. Καίτοι τὸν ἄπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί<sup>c</sup>  
οἰεσθε, ἐπειδὰν καθ' ἓν ἡμῶν ἔκάστους κύριος γένηται, τί  
ποιήσειν;

**7** Τί οὖν αἴτιον τουτωνί; οὐ γάρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας  
**D** αἰτίας οὔτε τόδι οὕτως εἰχον ἐτοίμας τρὸς ἐλευθερίαν οἱ  
Ἐλληνες, οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν. Ἡν τι τότε, ἡν δὲ  
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοίαις, δὲ νῦν οὐκ  
ἔστιν, δὲ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτον καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἦγε  
τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ οὔτε γανμαχίας οὔτε τεξῆς μάχης οὐδεμάς  
ἥττατο, νῦν δὲ ἀπολωλός ἀπαντα λελύμανται καὶ ἄνω καὶ  
κάτω πεποίκη τάντα τὰ πράγματα. Τί οὖν ἡν τοῦτο; τοὺς  
παρὰ τῶν ἀρχειν βουλομένων ηδιαφθείραν τὴν Ἐλλάδα  
χρήματα λαμβάνοντας δικαίας ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπότατον ἦν

τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἔξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίᾳ μεγίστῃ τοῦτον ἀ<sup>π</sup>έκόλαζον. Τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκδοστού τῶν πραγμάτων, διὸ ἡ τύχη πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἡ πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὅμονοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδὲ δῆλος τοιούτον οὐδέν. Νῦν δὲ πανθ' ὅσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισῆκται δὲ ἄντι τούτων, ὃν οὐν ἀπόλωλε καὶ γενόσθηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔστι τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἴληφε τις γέλως, ἢν δομολογγή μίσος, ἢν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμῷ· τάλλα τάνθ' θάνατον ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἥργηται. Ἐπειδὴ τριήρεις γε καὶ σώρατῶν πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τάλλα οἷς ἢν τις λαχύνει τὰς πολεις κρίνου, οὐν διπαντ καὶ πλείω ἔστι τῶν τότε πολλῷ. 'Αλλ' διπαντα ταῦτ' ἀχρηστα ἀπρακτα ἀνόνητα ἐπὸ τῶν πώλουντων γίγνεται.

"Οτι δέ οὗτο ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν τοῦ δράτε δῆπον καὶ οὐδὲν 8 ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δέ ἐν τοῖς ἄνωθεν χρόνοις διτι τάνατία εἰχεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐν λαβόγος ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγονῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων, ἢ κείνοις κατέθεντο εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. 'Αρθμιος, φησίν, ὁ Πυθώνακτος Ζελείτης ἀτιμος καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμους τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, αὐτὸς καὶ γένος. Εἰσθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, διὸ θηταῦτ' ἔγένετο· διτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἥγαγεν. Ταῦτ' ἔστι τὰ γράμματα. Λογιζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τις ἡν ποθ' ἡ διάνοια τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν τότε ταῦτα ποιούντων, ἢ τι τὸ ἀξιωμα. 'Εκεῖνοι Ζελείτην τινὰ "Αρθμιον δοῦλον βασιλέως (ἢ γὰρ Ζέλεια ἔστι τῆς Ἄστιας), διτι τῷ δεσπότῳ διακονῶν χρυσὸν ἥγαγεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖς, ἔχθρον αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους. Τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν οὐχ ἣν δὲν τις οὐτωσι φίσειν ἀτιμίαν· τι γὰρ τῷ Ζελείτῃ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξειν ἐμελλειν; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπται νόμοις, ὑπὲρ οὐν ἄν μὴ διδῷ δίκαια φόνου δικάσασθαι, "καὶ ἀτιμος" φησὶ "τεθνάτω." Τοῦτο δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν ἐνύμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι" οὐν γὰρ δὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμελευ, εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὀνείταις καὶ διαφθείρει, μὴ τοδή ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἀκόλαζον δὲ οὕτω καὶ ἐτιμωροῦντο οὓς αἰσθοιντο, ὅστε καὶ στηλίτας ποιεῖν. 'Εκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θντῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβερά, οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. 'Αλλ'

Δ καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς δὲ οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὡς οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ὃν ταῦτα ἔποιει, οὐκ ἐνέῖναι λέγειν. Εἰ δέ γε δοῦλος ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπώλλυνε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλεις δοφι μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὄργης δέινον τάντες ἀν ἔφησαν εἶναι! ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ μν ἐκεῖνος πράττειν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ "Ελληνος ὅντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδέν τοῖς "Ελλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρους ἐντεῦθεν δύνειν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρον Μακεδόνος, δύνειν οὐδὲ ἀνδράποδον σκονδαῖον οὐδὲν ἣν πρότερον.

6 Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὑβρεως ἀπολείται; οὐ τρὸς τῷ πόλεις ἀνηρρησάνται τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθαι, τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, καν αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγωνισθέσαντας πέμπει; γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς δὲ χρὴ τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι; πέμπει δὲ ζένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἐρεγριέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' Ὀρεόν, τύραννον Φιλιστίδην καταστήσαντας; ἀλλ' δύναται ταῦθ' ὀρώντες οἱ "Ελληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ' ἐαντοὺς ἔκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. Οὐ μόνον δὲ φ' οἵτις ἡ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲις ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν αὐτὸς ἔκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γάρ ηδη τοῦσχατόν ἔστεν. Οὐ Καριτθίων ἐπ'. Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὁρμόμοκεν Αἴτωλοῖς παραδώσειν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχίνον ἀφήρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βιζαντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐχὶ ἡμῶν, ἐώ τάλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερφονῆσον τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἀπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζομεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίους βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. Καίτοι τὸν ἀπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἰεσθε, ἐπειδὰν καθ' ἓνα ἡμῶν ἐκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσειν;

7 Τί οὖν αἴτιον τουτωγί; οὐ γάρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας δ αἴτιας οὔτε τόδι οὔτε εἰλόν ετοίμως πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν οἱ "Ελληνες, οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν. Ἡν τι τότ', ἦν δ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοίαις, δ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν, δ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτον καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἤγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε γαυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης οὐδεμαῖς ἤταπτο, νῦν δ ἀπολωλὸς ἀπανταὶ λελύμανται καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίκης πάντα τὰ πράγματα. Τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχειν βουλομένων ἢ διαφθείρειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἀπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπάτατον ἣν

τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἔξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίᾳ μεγίστῃ τοῦτον οὐκέτιασιν. Τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκάπιστον τῶν πραγμάτων, διὸ ή τόχη πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἡν πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄμονοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τοράνους καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδὲ δλῶς τοιούτουν οὐδέν. Νῦν δὲ πανθ' ὅστερ εἰς ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέρατας ταῦτα, ἀντιεισῆκται δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων, ὃς ὁν ἀπόλυτε καὶ γεννόσηκες ή Ἑλλάς. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τι εἰληφέ τι γέλως, ἀν δριμογγή μίσος, ἀν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾶς· τάλλα τάνθ' θσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἥργηται. Ἐπει τρέψεις γε καὶ σύρατων πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τῆς βίας ἀλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τάλλα οὐδὲ ἄν τις ισχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνει, νῦν διασι καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τούτων πολλῷ. Ἀλλ' ἐπαντα ταῦτ' ἀχρηστα ἀπρακτα ἀνόνητα ὅτο τῶν πωλούντων γίγνεται.

"Οτι δὲ οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν τοῦ ὄφρατε δῆπους καὶ οὐδὲν 8 ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄνωθεν χρόνοις δι τάνακτία εἰχεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, σὸν λόγους ἐμαντοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν ὑμετέρων, αἱ κείνοις κατέθεντο εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀρθμος, φησίν, ὁ Πυθωνακτος Ζελείτης ἀτίμος καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δῆμους τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, αὐτὸς καὶ γένος. Εἰσ' ἡ αἵρια γέγραπται, δι' θη ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· δι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννυσον ἤγαγεν. Ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. Λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίς ἡν ποθὴ διάνοια τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν τούτη ταῦτα ποιούντων, η τι τὸ ἀξίωμα. Ἐκτίνοι Ζελείτην τινὰ "Ἀρθμον δυσλον βασιλέως (ἡ γὰρ Ζέλεια ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας), στὶ τῷ δεσπότη διακονῶν χρυσὸν ἤγαγεν εἰς Παλοκόνηνησον, οὐκ Ἀθηναζε, ἔχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν οὐχ ἡν ἄν τις σύντοι φέσειν ἀτίμιαν· τι γὰρ τῷ Ζελείτῃ, δ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξειν ἔμελλεν; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπται νόμοις, ὑπέρ ὃν ἄν μὴ διδῷ δίκαιας φόνου δικάσασθαι, "καὶ ἀτίμος" φησὶ "τεθνάτω." Τοῦτο δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν ἐνύμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἐλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἀν αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν, εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὸς ὄντεται καὶ διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦτο ὑπολαμβάνοντο· οὐκέτιασιν δὲ οὕτω καὶ ἀτίμωροῦντο οὐδὲ αἰσθοιτο, δοτε καὶ στηλίτας ποιεῖν. Έκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων θντῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβερά, οὐχ δὲ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἐλλησιν. Ἀλλ'

Λ οὐ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεις ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα  
οὔτε πρὸς τάλλα, ἀλλὰ πῶς; εἴπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ  
ὅργιεῖσθε;

9 "Εστι· τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεῖσθαι  
βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὕτω Φίλιππός ἐστιν οὗτος ποτ'  
ἡσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν ἥρχον καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης,  
βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἰχον, ὑφίστατο δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ'  
δικαὶς ἡμύνατο κάκείνους ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη. Ἐγὼ  
δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἕπος εἰπεῖν πολλὴν εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ  
οὐδὲν ὄμοιών ὅντων τῶν νῦν τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι  
τολέον ἂν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεκινηθῆσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. Πρῶ-  
τον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω· Λακεδαιμονίους τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς  
ἄλλους τέτταρας μῆνας ἡ πέντε, τὴν ὥραιαν αὐτήν, ἐμβαλόν-  
τας ἀν κακώσαντας τὴν χώραν ὀπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς  
στρατεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου πάλιν· οὕτω δὲ ἀρχαίως  
εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ώστε οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὄντες  
παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι οὐδιμόν τινα καὶ προφανῆ τὸν  
πόλεμον. Νῦν δὲ ὁρᾶτε μὲν δῆταν τὰ πλεῖστα τοὺς προδότας  
ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδὲν δὲ ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμε-  
νον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὀπλιτῶν ἄγειν  
εἰσεισθεῖν οὐδὲν τῷ φύλοις, ἵππεας, τοξότας,  
ζένους, τοιούτον ἔκηρτησθαι στρατόπεδον. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐπὶ  
τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς πρωσπέσῃρ καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ  
τῆς χώρας δὲ ἀπιστεῖν ἔξῃ, μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας πολωρκεῖ.  
Καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν  
ἔξατρος ὥρα τις, ἣν διαλείπει. Ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδό-  
τας καὶ λογιζαμένους οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν  
χώραν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν εὐθείαν τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμο-  
νίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείσ-  
του φιλάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως  
δούκοδεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοτοῦντας, οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγω-  
νίζεσθαι. Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτή-  
μαθ' ήμιν ὑπάρχει, ἀν περ ὡς ὀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ποιεῖν ἐθέλω-  
μεν ἀ δεῖ, ἡ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, ἡς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν  
ἐστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἄλλα μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα  
ἀμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος ἡσκῆται.

10 Οὐ μάνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκεῖνον  
ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῷ  
διαινοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐγθυ-  
μούμενον τοις οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔχθρῶν κρατῆσαι,  
πρὸς ἀν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃτε ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκε-

ἐκβαλόντων. Μωρία καὶ κακία τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν, καὶ οὐκανώς βουλευομένους καὶ μηδὲν ὅν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἔθελοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκροωμένους, τηλικαύτην ἡγείσθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος, διστε μηδὲ ἄν ὅτιον ἢ δεινὸν πείσεσθαι. Καὶ μὴν κάκεῖν γέ αἰσχρόν, ὑστερόν τοτ' εἰπεῖν “τις γάρ ἄν φίθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νὴ τὸν Δία, ἔδει γάρ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι.” Πολλὰ ἄν εἰπεῖν ἔχουεν ‘Ολύνθιοι νῦν, ἃ τότ’ εἰ προείδοτο, οὐν ἄν ἀπώλοντο· πόλλ’ ἀν 'Ὀρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκεῖς, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἔκαστοι. ’Αλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς; ἔως ἄν σώζηται τὸ σκάφος, ἄν τε μεῖζον ἄν τ’ ἐλαττον ἢ, τάπε χρὴ καὶ ναύτην <sup>β</sup> καὶ κυθερήτην καὶ τάντ’ ἄνδρα ἔκῆς προθύμους είναι, καὶ ὅπως μήθ’ ἔκὼν μήτ’ ἄκων μηδεὶς ἀνατρέψῃ, τοῦτο σκοτεῖσθαι· ’Επειδὰν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχῃ, μάταιος ἡ σκουδή. Καὶ ἡμεῖς τοινυν ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔως ἐσμὲν σφοι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξιώματα κάλλιστον, — τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἡδέως ἄν ἵσως ἐρωτήσων κάθηται. ’Εγὼ νὴ Δί’ ἔρω, καὶ γράψω δέ, ώστε ἄν βούλησθε χειροτονήστε. Αὐτοὶ τρῶτον ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατιώταις λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἄν ἀπαντες δήπου δουλεύειν συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ημῖν γ’ <sup>γ</sup> ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον· ταῦτα δὴ πάντα αὐτοὶ παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες φανερὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἥδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάσκοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν τρέσθεις, ιν’ ἔαν μὲν πείσητε, κοινωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλαμάτων, ἄν τι δέη, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνους γε ἐμποιῆτε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ’Επειδὴ γάρ ἐστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστώσης πόλεως ισχὺν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ’ ἀχρηστὸν, οὐδὲ αἱ πέρυσι πρεσβεῖαι περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκεῖναι καὶ κατηγορίαι, ἀς ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκεινοσὶ καὶ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκεῖνον καὶ μήτ’ ἐπ’ Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μήτ’ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὅρμησαι. Οὐ μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἔθελοντας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εὐηθες τὰ οἰκεῖα αὐτοὺς προεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φάσκειν κήδεσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. Οὐ λέγω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ χρήματ’ ἀποστέλλειν φημὶ δεῖν καὶ τέλλα σσα ἀξιοῦσι ποιεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐλληνας συγκαλεῖν συνάγειν διδάσκειν τουθετεῖν· ταῦτ’ ἐστὶ πόλεως ἀξιώματα ἔχουσης ἡλίκου ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. Εἰ

δ' οἰεσθε Χαλκιδέας τὴν Ἑλλάδα σώσειν ή Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀποδράσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὄφθως οἰεσθε' ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, ἀν αὐτοὶ σώζωνται τούτων ἔκαστοι. 'Αλλ' ὑμὲν τοῦτο πρακτέον· ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων. Εἰ δὲ βούλεται ζητῶν ἔκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ δπως μηδὲν αὐτὸς ποιήσει σκοτῶν, πρώτον μὲν οὐδὲ μή ποθ' εὑρη τοὺς ποιήσοντας, ἔπειτα δέδοικα δπως· μὴ πάνθ' ἄμα, δσα οὐ βούλομεθα, ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήσεται.

15. Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἴομαι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἀν τὰ πράγματα τούτων γεγνομένων· εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τούτων βέλτιον, λεγέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω. "Ο τι δ' ὑμῖν δόξει, τοῦτ', ὃ πάντες θεοί, συνενέγκοι.

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## INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST PHILIPPIC.

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(From F. Jacobs.)

IN order to understand the Orations of Demosthenes against Philip, it is absolutely necessary that we should possess some knowledge of the most remarkable events of the period to which they refer. The Peloponnesian war had been brought to a close, but the spirit of international jealousy was as far as ever from being extinguished. Athens, it is true, had been humbled by the strenuous and persevering exertions of Sparta, aided by Persian gold ; but no sooner was this effected, than the haughtiness and oligarchical tyranny of the victorious state again kindled the flames of discord.

A restless and uneasy feeling pervaded the whole of Greece, and occasioned the rapid formation of confederacies, which were as speedily dissolved ; the want of mutual confidence rendering the struggles of individual states more injurious to one another than to the dominant power. Meanwhile Athens, by dint of unwearyed activity, was rapidly regaining the position which she had formerly occupied among the nations of Greece ; but another formidable enemy now appeared, in the person of Philip king of Macedonia, whose political and military talents eventually elevated his kingdom to the rank of a first-rate European power. Misunderstandings, occasioned by the commercial rapacity of the one party and the ambition of the other, terminated in a war, in which the divided counsels of the Greeks and the caprice of a lawless democracy at Athens were unfavorably contrasted with the uniform and calculating policy of the Macedonian autocrat. The result was such as might have been anticipated. Availing himself of the distracted condition of the Grecian states, Philip put an end to their struggles with one another for the shadow of a Hegemony, by appropriating to himself all its substantial advantages, and thus rendering the governments of Greece his instruments for working out that mighty plan of universal conquest, which was fully carried into effect under his son and successor, Alexander the Great.

The steps by which this object was gradually attained, will be fully developed in the orations themselves : at present, therefore, our remarks will be confined to the circumstances by which he was

brought into collision with Athens at the commencement of his reign. On his return from a nine years' sojourn at Thebes, PHILIP, third son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, assumed the regency as guardian of his nephew, the son of his deceased brother, Perdiccas. At this period the resources of the Macedonian government were well-nigh exhausted, its troops disheartened by a series of defeats, and its frontier threatened by the Paeonians, Illyrians, and Thracians. Nothing could be more gloomy than the prospect before him; but Philip was of an age when men rarely despond: the examples of Jason of Pheræ and Epaminondas had probably roused his youthful ambition, and the intimate knowledge of Grecian politics, acquired during his residence at Thebes, had suggested hopes which were never afterwards abandoned during a reign of three-and-twenty years. Addressing himself at once to the danger which seemed the most imminent, Philip appeased the Paeonians by the payment of a sum of money, and compelled the Illyrians to retire within their own frontier. After this successful commencement, he seems at once to have assumed the reins of government on his own account, for we hear nothing further of his nephew. His first care was to secure his own frontier against foreign invasion, and then to gain for himself an advantageous position as regarded Greece: for the attainment of both these objects it would be necessary to extend his frontier to the sea; but this could only be done by obtaining a settlement on the Chalcidic peninsula and the Thracian Chersonese. His line of march lay through the city of Amphipolis, and here it was that he was first brought into collision with the Athenians.

AMPHIPOLIS, or as it was originally named, "the Nine Ways," was an Athenian settlement on both sides of the river Strymon, not far from the boundary line which separated Thrace from the Chalcidic peninsula. This district, from which the Athenians imported wood for ship-building, iron, and other commodities, fell into the hands of Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian general, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war. At the peace of Antalcidas (Ol. 98, 2) the right of Athens to the city was fully recognized, but the inhabitants seem to have been as little inclined as they had shown themselves on a former occasion<sup>1</sup> to submit to the government of the mother country. After a considerable lapse of time the Athenians sent out Iphicrates, whose hopes of receiving assistance from the third Perdiccas<sup>2</sup>, in return for former benefits, were miserably disappointed. Meanwhile the Macedonians, who dreaded the vicinity of the Athenians as much as that of the Spartans, seem to have taken possession of the city themselves. Perdiccas having fallen in a war with the Illyrians, the Athenians supported Argæus in his contest with Pausanias for the vacant throne. Argæus and his allies were defeated by Philip (who had withdrawn the Macedonian garrison from Am-

<sup>1</sup> When the Lacedæmonians, after the death of Brasidas (Ol. 89, 2), proposed the restoration of the city to the Athenians. See Thucyd. v. 18 ad 21.

<sup>2</sup> Corn. Nepos, Vit. Iphicrat. i. 3: Eu-

rydice, mater Perdiccas et Philippi, cum his duobus pueris, Amynta mortuo, ad Iphicratem configuit, ejusque opibus defensæ est.

phipolis, and granted freedom to the city,) but the Athenian prisoners were treated with great kindness, fully recompensed for the losses which they had sustained, and sent back to their own country with many assurances of friendship<sup>2</sup>. In consequence of their favorable report, an embassy was sent out from Athens to Macedonia, the alliance which had formerly subsisted between Philip's father and the city was renewed, and, what at the time seemed more important than all, the claims of Macedonia to Amphipolis were abandoned. This occurred in the second year of the 105 Olympiad; but in the following year Philip, availing himself of some frivolous pretext, declared war against the Amphipolitans, attacked their city, and carried it by storm (Ol. 105, 3). Wishing, however, to justify his conduct to the Athenians, he pretended that all this had been done for their benefit, and in return for this acknowledgement received from them, it is said, a secret promise, that Athens would offer no impediment to the execution of his projects against Pydna on the Thermaic gulf. By the occupation of this city Philip obtained a most important position, which rendered him exceedingly formidable to Olynthus, a city situated on the opposite side of the gulf. This danger the inhabitants had long since foreseen, and had sought an alliance with Athens, which was prevented by the interference of Philip. The ambassadors sent by the Olynthians to Athens having been insulted, the wrathful feeling excited by their report of this indignity rendered their countrymen more accessible to the insidious proposals of the king of Macedonia, who promised to secure to them the possession of Pydna and Potidea, both of which cities had formerly belonged to Olynthus. Thus at the very commencement of his career Philip succeeded in tranquillizing those from whom he most dreaded opposition; and whilst he was secretly undermining the foundations of their freedom, either reduced them to the condition of inactive spectators, or availed himself of their assistance for the execution of his plans. Having thus tranquillized Olynthus, Philip proceeded in the next place to lay siege to Crenides, a city founded by the Thracians, and the key of the gold-mines in that part of Thrace. The possession of this fortress (which, after its capture was named Philippi, in honour of the conqueror) enabled Philip to work the mines with great success. The acquisition of this source of wealth may in fact be considered the foundation of his power, not only over the nations in the immediate neighbourhood of the mines, but throughout the whole of Greece. Soon afterwards we find him entering Thessaly on the invitation of certain nobles, who had been oppressed by the tyrants of Pheræ. For some unexplained reason the tyrants were permitted to remain, but the arms of Philip had opened for him a road into this land of confusion and civil discord, which was never afterwards closed. Athens was at this time engaged in a war with the islands, which terminated somewhat ingloriously in Ol. 106, 2, and was almost immediately succeeded by the so-called Holy War in Phocis; an insane struggle, which ex-

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. Orat. c. Aristeer.

hausted the resources of Thebes and other Grecian states, whilst Philip, against whom their arms ought to have been directed, was extending his frontier in more than one direction, almost without opposition. But even he was at last compelled to take part in the war. The Phocian leaders had repeatedly afforded assistance to the tyrants of Pheræ, and on each occasion Philip had been called in by the opposite party. After a long struggle his efforts were at last crowned with complete success, and his influence in Thessaly was more firmly established than ever. Under pretence of chastising the sacrilegious robbers in their own den, Philip (on the invitation perhaps of the Thebans) now advanced into Greece (Ol. 107, 1), but the pass of Thermopylæ being occupied by Athenian troops<sup>4</sup>, he was compelled to retrace his steps. The momentary panic occasioned by this invasion was soon forgotten by the thoughtless ochlocracy of Athens, who flattered themselves, in their ignorance of Macedonia and its resources, that Philip, after receiving so decided a check, would abandon for ever the idea of attacking the free Greek on his own soil. Completely occupied with the embellishment of his capital, he had drowned, so ran the tale, his projects of ambition in the wine-cup. The Athenians, therefore, thought that they had done all that was necessary when they despatched an insignificant force, commanded by a foreigner, to guard their frontier.

Whilst the remembrance of this attempt was yet fresh, in the first year of the 107 Olympiad, in the eighth year of the reign of the son of Amyntas, Demosthenes, as we are informed by Dionysius<sup>5</sup>, delivered his first Philippic oration, the immediate occasion and results of which are equally unknown.

The commencement of the speech shows, that the Athenians were already beginning to discover in the policy of Philip hostile designs, which were but thinly covered by his protestations of friendship. These views were not new perhaps; but the majority had wilfully closed their eyes to the danger, until the rapid advance of the king compelled them to adopt decisive measures. Several plans seem to have been proposed, none of which satisfied our orator. He wanted at the same time less and more than others; but what he desired above all things, was the adoption of that very course to which his volatile and careless countrymen were sure to offer the most vexatious opposition. Nothing, indeed, can be more moderate than his requisitions. He himself admits the insignificance of the measures proposed; but as they are sufficient under present circumstances, he expresses a hope that they may, if carried out with vigour and perseverance, gradually bring about a better state of things. The main object of the orator is to establish this proposition, on which all his arguments are founded. He reminds his countrymen, that success depends on the carrying into effect, steadily and perseveringly, resolutions adapted to present circumstances, rather than the adoption of more brilliant, but less practicable, measures. With this view

<sup>4</sup> Diodor. xvi. 35—38.

<sup>5</sup> Epistol. ad Ammæ. c. 4. vi. p. 725.

he recalls to their recollection instances of undertakings, in which success was purely the result of perseverance ; and condemns the reckless facility with which they were wont to cherish visionary hopes. He describes the evils which had resulted from the employment of mercenary troops, and calls on them to bear arms themselves, as in the olden time. If they wished to bring back the ancient glory of Athens, they must first return to the practice of those virtues which were her noblest ornament ; that public spirit which imparted vigour to every member of the state ; that renunciation of all the comforts of life, and even of life itself ; that noble emulation which led them to vie with one another in offering their best and dearest on the altar of their country. The contemporaries of Demosthenes showed little inclination to follow this advice, reasonable as it was. As long as the storm was yet at a distance, they indulged the hope that it might blow over without any effort on their part ; and so, instead of winning glory for themselves, they contented themselves with prating unceasingly about the glory of their ancestors. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that the arguments of the orator produced scarcely any result. The error of Demosthenes was twofold : he was mistaken in supposing that any eloquence of his could at once breathe life into the collapsed members of the Athenian body politic ; and still more was he mistaken, when, in his ignorance of Philip's resources, he ventured to attribute the previous successes of that powerful monarch to the negligence and inactivity of Athens.

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Before we examine the oration itself, it may be as well to inquire whether it was originally delivered in its present form, or whether it may not be a combination of two speeches pronounced at different times.

This question has arisen in consequence of an attempt made by Dionysius, in his letter to Ammæus, to put an end to a certain literary controversy, by arranging the orations of Demosthenes in regular chronological order. This writer takes the words, "This, O Athenians, is what we have been able to make out," which in the MSS. immediately follow the exposition of ways and means, to be the commencement of a distinct oration, which he places, as regards the time of its delivery, between the third Olynthiac and the Oration concerning the Peace<sup>6</sup>.

Having myself revived this controversy six-and-twenty years ago, I considered it my duty to lay before my readers the opinion of the English critic, Leland (who had pronounced in favour of the separation), with the arguments against and in favour of his theory. Since

<sup>6</sup> Callimachus, in whose archonship (Ol. 107, 4) the Athenians, by the advice of Demosthenes, sent aid to Olynthus, was succeeded by Theophilus (Ol. 108, 1), and he by Themistocles (Ol. 108, 2), under whom Demosthenes delivered his sixth Philippic, concerning the protection of the islanders and the cities of the Hellespont, which begins with the

words, "This, O Athenians." Instead of the *sixth*, it should be called the *fifth*, only four orations having been previously noticed. Dionysius adds two more, and calls the second of them the *sixteenth*. There is evidently in this passage a mistake, either of the author or the transcriber.

**Α** οὐ νῦν ὁν γὰρ οὔτες ἔχειθ' ὑμεῖς οὕτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὕτε πρὸς τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ τῶς; εἶπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργιεῖσθε;

**9** "Εστι τοίγιν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεῖσθαι βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὐπώ Φίλιππός ἐστιν οἱοί ποτ' ήσαν Δακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν ἥρχον καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἰλούν, ὑφίστατο δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὅμως ήμύνατο κάκείνους ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐκ ἀγηρπάσθη. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολλὴν εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὄμοιών ὄντων τῶν νῦν τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι π τλέον ἡ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεκινηθῆσαι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούν, Δακεδαιμονίους τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους τέτταρας μῆνας ἡ πέντε, τὴν ὥραιαν αὐτήν, ἐμβαλόντας ἀν κακώσαντας τὴν χώραν ὄπλιταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου πάλιν· οὕτω δὲ ἀρχαίως εἰλούν, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστε οὐδὲν χρημάτων ὀνεισθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι οὐδιμόν τινα καὶ προφανῆ τὸν πόλεμον. Νυνὶ δὲ ὅρατε μὲν δῆκου τὰ πλεῖστα τοὺς προδότας ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδὲν δὲ ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὄπλιτῶν ἄγειν ε βαδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλούς, ἵππεας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιούτον ἔξηρηθαι στρατόπεδον. Ἐπειδάν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς γοσσούντας ἐν αὐτοῖς πρωτέστηρ καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δὲ ἀπιστίαν εἶχε, μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. Καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἔξαίρετος ὥρα τις, ἣν διαλείπει. Ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδότας καὶ λογιζαμένους οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείστου πολάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως δοικοθεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοκοῦντας, οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγνωνίζεσθαι. Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτήμασθ' ήμειν ὑπάρχει, ἀν περ ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἀ δεῖ, ἡ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνουν χώρας, ἡς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἄλλα μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἀμεινον ἥμῶν ἐκείνος ἡσκηται.

**10** Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκεῖνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῷ διανοΐᾳ τοὺς παρ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμουμένους δτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἀν τους ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃτε ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκε-

νοις. Ὁ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐ δυνήσεσθε λῆμεῖς ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλάκις γάρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε λοιδορίας φθόνου σκώμματος, ἃς τινος ἀν τύχητε ἔνεκ' αἰτίας, ἀνθρώπους μισθωτούς, ὡν οὐδὲ ἀν ἀρνηθείεν ἔνιοι ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεύετε, καὶ γελᾶτε, ἂν τισι λοιδόρηθῶσιν. Καὶ οὐχὶ πω τοῦτο δεινόν, καίπερ ὃν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλεόνος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτοις ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. Καίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσας συμφορὰς παρασκευάζει τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἔθελεν ἀκροᾶσθαι. Λέξω δὲ βέργα ἢ πάντες εἰσεσθε.

<sup>11</sup> Ήσαν ἐν Ὁλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς μὲν Φιλίππους καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἑκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ οἱ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύσουσιν οἱ πολίται πράγματα. Πάτεροι δὴ τὴν πατρίδα ἔξαλεσαν; ἢ πάτεροι τοὺς ἵππεας προῦδοσαν, ὡν προδοθέντων Ὅλυνθος ἀπώλετο; οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου φρονοῦντες καὶ ὅτ' ἣν ἡ πόλις τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντας συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐτως, ὥστε τόν γ' Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὅλυνθίων ἐπείσθη.

Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις μόνον τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο πάντα κακὰ <sup>12</sup> εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐρεγρίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλοντάρχου καὶ τῶν ἔνων ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμόν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἤγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Φίλιππουν. Ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ ταλαιπωροὶ καὶ δυστυχεῖς Ἐρεγριεῖς τελευτῶντες ἐπείσθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγοντας ἐκβαλεῖν. Καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας Ἰππόνικον σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ἔνους χιλίους, τὰ τείχη περιεῖλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους, Ἰππαρχον, Αὐτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξελήλακεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δις ἥδη βουλομένους σώζεσθαι.

Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἐν Ὀρεῷ Φιλιστίδης μὲν <sup>13</sup> ἐπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένικτος καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Θόας καὶ <sup>ο</sup> Αγακαιοῖς, οἵπερ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἥδεσαν ἀπαντεῖς. Εὐνφραῖος δέ τις, ἀνθρωπὸς καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ποτ' ἐνθάδε οἰκήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δουλοὶ ἔσονται. Οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προεπηλακίζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πολλὰ ἀν εἴη λέγειν· ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προδότην τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ἢ πράττουσιν. Συστραφέοτες δὲ ἀνθρώποι πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φιλίππον καὶ πρυτανεύμενοι,

## NOTES

### TO THE FIRST PHILIPPIC.

#### EXPLANATION OF MARKS, &c.

K.	= Krüger.	R.	= Rüdiger.
F.	= Franke.	Rak.	= Reiske.
V.	= Vömel.	Sch.	= Schæfer.
B.	= Bremi.	Sp.	= Sauppe.
JN.	= join the words in the following order, in construing the passage.		

The numbers to which § is prefixed, refer to Mr. Jelf's edition of Kühner; the rest to my Grammars; those enclosed in parenthetical marks being to the *smaller* Grammar.

(P.) PAGE 1, § 1. [§ 1, p. 40.]

1) *εἰ—προτίθητο, if it were proposed = if it had been proposed.* K. originally preferred πρότικετο, though allowing that the Greek *imperfect* is used in the conditional clause in the sense of a *pluperfect*, if the action or state described be *continued* or *repeated*: Sp. observes that this is the case here, for the Prytanes might be considered as *continually inviting* the orators to speak on the proposed subject, from the time of the first proclamation, *τις ἀγορεύειν βούλεται*; till the final passing and drawing up of the decree. || *ἔπισχεν ἀν—ἀν ήγον,* Gr. 1448, b. Pr. Intr. ii. 94. § 429, obs. 1. The first *ἀν* has a very natural position here, for the sentence may be resolved into *ἔπισχον ἀν . . . (καὶ) ήγον ἀν.* || *ἔπι—ἀπεφήναντο, till they had decreed.* On the indic. cf. Gr. 1266. *ἡδίως ἀν Καλλικλεῖ τούτῳ διελεγόμην έως αὐτῷ . . . ἀπέδωκα (usque dum reddidisset),* Pl. Gorg. 506, b.—*ἀποφαίνεσθαι γνώμην* is the usual formula, not *τὴν γνώμην, e. g.* Xen. An. 1, 6, 9 (with K.'s note): *ὑμῶν δὲ σὸν πρῶτον Κλέαρχε ἀπόφηναι γνώμην δὲ τοι δοκεῖ.* || *τὰν εἰσθέτων, sc. γνώμην ἀποφῆνασθαι.* || *Ἐν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν.* “In the gene-

ral assemblies, those citizens who had completed their fiftieth year (P. were, conformably with an ordinance of Solon, first called on to 1). deliver their opinion. The law itself had, it is true, long since become inoperative ; but as a decent custom, it was usual for the older men to speak first, although even this regulation was not unfrequently disregarded. See *Aechin. Orat. c. Ctesiphon.* Even Demosthenes considers himself excused from the observance of it, when a subject, which has been frequently, but in his opinion unsatisfactorily discussed, is brought before the assembly for reconsideration. In the same way Isocrates makes Archidamus commence his speech with an apology for coming forward to give them advice on a subject, the discussion of which had been avoided by his seniors. ‘ If,’ he goes on to say, ‘ any one of those who are in the habit of addressing you, had spoken as he ought to have done, I should have remained silent : but now, when I plainly perceive that the one party are actually giving support to our enemies, whilst the others but feebly oppose them, and that some of your orators are silenced altogether, I consider myself justified in coming forward to make known my sentiments.’ (*Isocrat. Archid.*) For the whole question see Schömann de Comitiis Atheniens. c. x. J. || ἀντὶ τοῦ . . . θάνατος. Gr. 791 (632) § 858, 3, obs. 3. According to Hermann’s rule (Pr. Intr. ii. 113) the *ān* is added here, because the implied opposite is true (*νῦν δὲ δεῖ*). See below, note on *ἰχρῆν*, § 5.

## § 2. [§ 2—12, p. 40.]

**οὐκ ἀθυμητέον.** Gr. 926 (730, a) § 607. “ Demosthenes does not *δwell* long on the condition of Athens, because a more detailed description would have rather depressed than revived their courage. This passage has been instanced by an ancient rhetorician (Hermogenes περὶ διεγόντ.) as the expression of an unexpected, profound, and forcible idea.” J. || JN. δ *ἀτρῶν*, and cf. 38, 26, δ μὲν χρήσιμον τῷ πόλει τοῦ πράγματος ἴστιν. Cf. 2, 20. || ἐκ τοῦ παρ. χρέους is not exactly equivalent to *ἐν παρεληλυθότι χρέωφ*, but denotes motion and continuance from the point of commencement, through the intermediate space, *up* to the present. So περὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνον κριθέντων. Dem. in Timoer. 90. F. || δι τούτῳ, κ.τ.λ. “ Est sibi ipsi responsio. Cic. de Or. 3, 54, 207.” F. || πελούστων, to be resolved *causally*. || οὐδὲ ἀντὶ δέ τοις δέ, (*there would have been no hope,*) the *ān* inserted because the opposite is the real state of things, *νῦν δὲ πάπις ἴστιν*. || γενέσθαι, without *ān*. Gr. 1087 (830) § 406, obs. 2. || ξεντρα, and then, and secondly. Usually (like *εἶτα*) without *δέ* in Dem. || ἀθυμητέον, sc. ὑμῖν. *ἀθροίς* is of course to be connected with *εἰδόσιν*, not with *ἀναμιμησκομένους*. “ Orator si incepit, ac si v. τοῖς εἰδόσιν *ἀθροίς* omnino non subiecturus esset. Concinmitatem si sectatus esset, si fere loqui debebat : ἀθυμητούς τοῖς μὲν νεωτέροις παρ’ ἄλλων ἀκόδουσι, τοῖς δὲ εἰδόσιν *ἀθροίς* (i. e. τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις) ἀναμιμησκομένοις.” K. “ Isoer. 8, 12 : θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι μημονεύουσι, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων, εἰ μηδενὸς ἀκηδαστιν.” Sp. || ἀκούει = *I have heard.* Gr. 766, 9 (614, d) § 396.

## PAGE 2.

(P. ἡλίκην—ός καλῶς. “*Quanta potentia instructis Lacedæmoniis*  
 2). *quam pulchre oet.*” K. Two relative or interrogative clauses are  
 ^ very frequently dpt in Greek on the same verb or participle. Cf.  
 § 36. 2, 25, 19, 61 : *ἴν’ εἰδῆτε οἵων ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς παρ’ ὑμῶν*  
*οἵων ἔτυχον.* Ib. 63 : *σκοτεῖτε, τί πιστεύσαντες τι ἐκάθον.* 23,  
 107 : *οἱ τὶ πεποιηκότος αὐτοῖς Φιλίππου πῶς αὐτῷ χρώνται*; and  
 cf. Cic. Offic. 2, 19, 67 : *sed tamen videmus, quibus extinctis oratoriis*  
*bus quam in paucis spes, quanto in paucioribus facultas, quam in*  
*multis sit audacia.* Kritz ad Sall. Cat. 47, 1. F. || ἐξ οὗ χρ. οὐ π.,  
 sc. ἰστιν, sc. no long time ago. The verb is usually omitted in  
 this formula, but not always. Isoср. 5, 47 : *οὐτοις γάρ ἄρχοντες*  
*τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὐ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ*  
*Θάλατταν τὸς τοσαῦτην μεταβολὴν ἥλθον.* Addito verbo substantivo,  
 49, 67 : *οὕπω τοινυν πολὺς χρόνος ἰστιν οὐ διονομά-*  
*στατο.* F. || προσηκόντες, i. e. with reference to your general advocacy.  
 and defence of the rights of Greece. || *ἴν’ εἰδῆτε . . . καὶ θέσσησθε.*  
 “*Tenendum est ἣν εἰδῆτε hic esse : ut cognoscatis.* Cf. xviii. 118,  
 p. 266, § 153, p. 278, § 156, p. 279 : *ὅδε δῆ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν —,*  
*ἴν’ εἰδῆτε καὶ εἰ ταῦτης σαφῶς, κ.τ.λ.* Tantum abest ut in ista ver-  
 borum collocatione offensionis aliquid insit, ut eam egregie commen-  
 det cl̄m̄. Nam θέσσησθαι evidenter cognitionem significat *rem*  
*quasi oculis subjiciens.* Plane eadem ratio est eorum aliquot locorum  
 quo Br. contulit, quibus, ut x. 7, p. 139, prætereamus, hos adjici-  
 mus : *εἰδὼς καὶ ἐνράκως, xviii. 248, p. 309 : σκίψασθε — καὶ θεωρή-*  
*σατε, § 262, p. 311 : ἐγνώκειν καὶ προεωρύμην, xix. 154, p. 389 :*  
*ἴξετάσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι, 315, p. 442 : ἐνθυμειόσθαι καὶ ὥραν, xx. 118,*  
*p. 492.” K. || τῇ τότε φύμῃ.* “After the battle of *Ægospotamos*,  
 so ruinous in its immediate consequences to Athens, the Lacedæmo-  
 nians began to draw down upon themselves the hatred of Greece, by  
 the arrogance they displayed in the day of their triumph. The  
 Corinthian war, in which Athens took the principal part, was kindled  
 by a slight encouragement from the Persian king, whom Agesilaus  
 was now distressing in his own dominions (Ol. 96, 2). Conon's  
 victory over the Lacedæmonian fleet at Cnidos humbled their pride  
 in some degree, and lightened the yoke which they were attempting  
 to impose upon his country, and the other Grecian states. The  
 naval power of Athens was resuscitated by this victory, but Sparta  
 still possessed an overwhelming influence, which was consoli-  
 dated afresh by the peace of Antalcidas (Ol. 98, 2). The results  
 were soon apparent. Whilst Sparta was successfully carrying some  
 of her ambitious projects into execution, and cautiously laying the  
 foundation of others, the occupation of the citadel of Thebes, in  
 direct contravention of international law, but too plainly manifested  
 that her policy was still unchanged. The consequence of this act of  
 aggression was a war (Ol. 100, 2), in which a great number of cities  
 ranged themselves under the banners of Athens, and completely  
 overthrew the Spartans off Naxos (Ol. 101, 1). As the peace, which  
 was soon afterwards concluded (Ol. 102, 2), through the mediation

of the king of Persia, secured their freedom to the cities of Greece<sup>1</sup>, (P. Demosthenes might fairly adduce these efforts of his countrymen as 2). proofs of their love of justice and disinterested anxiety for the liberties and rights of the Hellenic nation. The people to whom the possession of such virtues as these was ascribed, might bear the unpalatable truths enunciated by their orators for the purpose of rousing them from their torpor." J. || τούτου, of this man, sc. Philip. As examples of the demonstr. without the art. after a substantive with it, F. quotes 21, 80 : τὰ μὲν δὴ τότε ὑβρίσματα τούτων. 44, 17 : ὃ δὲ Μεσδυλίδης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πάτερ δὲ τοστοῦ. 52, 2 : εὐκὶ θλάττων οὐ μέτα ταῦτ' αἰσιγείᾳ ἔστι τοστοῦ, ε.τ.λ.

τό τε πλῆθος. In the preceding year, in his war against Onomarchus in Thessaly, he assembled an army of 20,000 foot-soldiers, and 3000 of Thessalian cavalry; and built a fleet besides. V. || μὲν—πάντων. Gr. 1479, end; and 1480, 2. || καὶ πάντα τὸν—κόλαφ, "and had all that region around subject to us," i. e. that part of Macedonia around the Thermaic gulf. κόλαφ is placed last, to give a stronger rhetorical accentuation to οἰκεῖον. F.—"The conquest of Pydna and Potidea has been mentioned in the Introduction. Methone, in Bottiaea, was taken by Philip (Ol. 106, 4) whilst the Athenians were busied with the occupation of the Chersonese and the Phocian war. It was at the siege of this city that Philip lost one of his eyes<sup>1</sup>." J. || οἰκεῖον. JN. οἰκεῖον εἰχομεν. || τῶν περ' ἐκ τῶν διτ., "Ilyriorum, Paeonum, Thessalorum. Nam μέτα τινος εἴλαι, non raro dicuntur, qui aliquibus imperio subjecti sunt. Cf. § 8." K. || 'κείνη = ἰκείνη. The Ionic form κείνος (according to Sp.) is never found in Plato, Isocrates, Demosthenes, i. e. in those writers of Attic prose for whose works the best or most carefully collated MSS. have been consulted.—"This seems to be an allusion to Olynthus and the confederate cities of the Chalcidic peninsula. That Olynthus sought the friendship of Athens, and that Philip was able to prevent this alliance by means of his friends, and by dint of secret promises, we are told by Demosthenes, Olynth. ii. We are also reminded of the Thessalians (whose country was distracted by faction) and of the Thracians." J. || ταῦτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην. "The orator gives an unexpected turn to the sentence, when about (as it would seem) to describe the disadvantages of their position. Shall the Athenians fail in that, which Philip, under such unfavorable circumstances, was able to accomplish?" J. || ἀπνευχθεότα, i. q. ὄφηγήρια (19, 219, coll. 8, 66), fortresses of attack, e. g. such as Decædæ was in Attica; fortresses from which an enemy could sally forth at any time to lay a country waste. "Genitivus τῆς χώρας objectivus est, ut 15, 12: ἡγισθαι τὴν νῆσον ταῦτην (Rhodum), ὅπερ ἔστιν, ἀλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντίτιν βασιλεῖ χρησίμην ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτείχωμα τρός τὸ μηδὲ διτοῦν παρακινεῖν. Idem et ἐτί τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν, ut 18, 71, et τὴν αὐτοῦ χώρα, ut Thue. 1, 122, 1, dici potuit." F.

ἐκτήσεσθε, sc. ἀν, to be borrowed from the preceding πεποίησεν, c

<sup>1</sup> Diodor. xv. 50, 51.

<sup>2</sup> Diodor. xvi. 34.

(P. Gr. 1448, a. § 432, obs. 2. || εἰδεν, pulchre vidit (K.), intellexit (F.).  
 2). || ἀθλα τοῦ πολέμου καίματα ἐν μέσῳ. Why the notion to be proposed was expressed in Greek by *κείσθαι* in the case of prizes, see Hom. Il. 18, 507; 23, 273, coll. 259. Sp. Cf. 2, 28. Xen. Anab. 3, 1, 21: *ἐν μίσῳ γάρ ήδη κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀθλα, ὅπότεροι δὲ ημῶν ἀνδρες ἀμείνονες ὡσιν.* F. || τῶν διόντων must not be referred to the distant *site* of the places referred to. As K. observes, Dem. is his own best expositor: *τοῦ οὗ ἄπαντα παρόντος τῷ στρατεύματι φίσει ὑπάρχει τὰ τῶν ἀπηργμένων καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις.* F. || γάρ τοι, etenim, profecto. F. || χρησάμενος, “quod usus est (quod ita sensit, sc. jam prius quam omnia subigeret), χρέμενος quod utebatur (sc. dum subigebat).” F. || τὰ 84, especially the Thessalians and Olynthians (Ol. 10b, 4). || καὶ γάρ—καί, nam et—et, Gr. 1476, t, 2 (1053, h). || καὶ προσίχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἔθλουσιν ἐπαντεις, an hexameter verse. Jacobs reproduces it, he says accidentally, in his German translation: *Denn es wollen sich Alle mit dem verbinden und einem.—προσίχειν τὸν νοῦν = προσίχειν τὴν γνώμην πρὸς τινα, animum adverte adiici, quem ducem et auctorem sequaris* (Kr. in Ind. ad Xen. Anab. γνώμῃ).

**D** ἐπὶ—γενέσθαι γνώμης, εἰ τοις *quaque* *talem*, *quali* *Philippum* *usum* *dixi*, *sentendi rationem* *pectore* *amplexi* *fueritis*, K., who compares viii. 14, p. 93: *μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνοίας*, et xxi. 199, p. 578: *ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερφανίας ὅντα.* ‘Επι γνώμης εἴναι (*firmiter adhaerere huic rationi*), xxi. 213, p. 583. Dionys. Arch. iv. 70, p. 809; vi. 38, p. 1126. K. || ἐπειδή περ, “quoniam, quandoquidem, de causa certa et indubitate et ab audiuntibus concessa.” F. [Gr. 1424, a, 1 (1031, a, 1) § 633, c.] || πράττειν = to act, in the same *absolute* sense as our verb. || συνελόντει δ' ἀτλός, sc. μετὰ παρθησίας καὶ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος. F. Cf. § 51: *πανθ' ἀπλᾶς οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος πεπαρροίασμα.* K. || ὑμένιον—γενέσθαι = to acquire the habit of *self-reliance*; to depend upon yourselves. The pupil must observe that *γενέσθαι* denotes, not the arriving at the state (*γίγνεσθαι*), but the state itself (i. e. to have become your own; not to depend upon the will of another), *e. nobismet ipsis, non ex aliis pendere.* Sch. [+ not *sui juris fieri*, Matth. § 371]. He alludes to the general prevalence of that idle and ruinous expectation, that they would be saved by others, even if they did not stir hand or foot to protect themselves. || κομιστόθε, recuperabitis. R. || τὰ κατερρόθυμημάνα, what you have idled away; what you have lost by your indolence. || τάλιν ἀναληψθε = rursus recipietis. F. Cf. Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 63: *πάλιν αὐτάς [τὰς πόλεις] ἀνελαμβανον.* V.

## PAGE 3. [§ 8—13 mid.]

**A** τρέγματα = res, potentiam, imperium. *ἀθάνατα* is *prolepticum* = *ut cetera sint.* Gr. 643 (523) § 439, 2. || τις = many a one: i. e. one is taken as an instance, it being implied that there are many like-minded. He alludes, probably, to the Illyrians, Paeonians, and, perhaps, Thessalians. F. K. warns us against supposing that different classes or bodies of men are represented as entertaining dif-

ferent hostile sentiments. Doubtless the same persons both hated and (P. *feared*, &c.) || δέντα τερ παι—ταῦτα κάν. Cf. 21, 1 : ἡγώ δ' ὅπερ ἀν 3). καὶ ὑμῶν Ἑλαστος—προεῖλετο, τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκοίσσα. F. Gr. 1476, k. § 761. || τάντα ταῦτα, with ref. to persons, 1, 22. Cf. Xen. Cimon. 6, 13 : τοὺς μὲν γάρ ἀγαθοὺς τίκτονας, χαλκίες ἀγαθοῦς, Ζευγράφους ἀγαθοῦς, ἀνθρακιστούσις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα. F. || ἀποστροφήν, i. e. *catastrophē*, *perfigūs*. εἴτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφὴ γένοτο, εἴ τις βούλοιτο βασιλέα τακτὸν τοιόν, Xen. An. 2, 4, 22. || οὐ—ἀπελγέσας, *quod petulantie*. Cf. 21, 17: οὐδὲ ἔτεισθ' ἴστη τῆς θύρως. 23, 156: αἰσθάμενος δὲ οὐδὲν κακοῦ. F. || λόγον ὑπερφάνους. “It is very probable that Philip, on finding himself opposed at Thermopylae, as well as other places, indulged in threatening language against the Greeks. That Demosthenes should represent this as the effect of overweening arrogance, was perfectly consistent with the object which he had in view, and in accordance probably with the sentiments of the Athenians, most of whom, previously to the battle of Chæronea, had deemed it well-nigh incredible, that a state, which until that time had played so subordinate a part, should be raising itself into importance. In their eyes Macedonians were not only barbarians, but barbarians of the worst sort. ‘One would not (says Demosth. Philipp. iii.) willingly have one of them even for a slave.’ The contemptuous manner in which Demosthenes here, and in so many other passages of his orations, speaks of the king of Macedonia, sufficiently expresses his feeling on this point. That this contempt on the one side, and anxious desire on the other to be recognized as Greeks, acted as a powerful stimulus to the Macedonians in Philip’s time, has been well shown by Heyne in his essay on the rise and decline of the Macedonian power (Opusc. t. v. p. 163).” J.

μένετε δι τούτων is properly, as here, *to remain in this state of things*, B without endeavouring to advance any further: hence, *to let things remain as they are*; or even to be contented with the present state of things. So Dem. in Leoch. 1087, 11: οὐδὲν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνων δὲλλ' ἐμένετε ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. Xen. Ages. 1, 37: δοσον χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς δρεῖν. In Or. 18, 307, it is μένετε ἐπὶ τούτων = *to persevere in—μένειν ἐπὶ τοι = insistere aīcni*. R. Cf. n. on p. 2, d. “This apathy on their part was severely rebuked by Parmenio. Some Greeks, who were waiting in the royal antechamber, had presumed to ridicule the king’s drowsiness. ‘You need not wonder at his sleeping now,’ retorted the Macedonian; ‘whilst you slept he was wakeful enough.’ Plutarch, t. ii.” J. || προσπεριβή, *insuper sibi assimilis a. acquirit* (F.), lit. *is casting around him for more*. || κύνειρ τανταχῆ, *oīromū undique*. Xen. An. 3, 1, 2: κύνειρ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντη πολλὰ καὶ ἕθη καὶ πόλεις πολέμαι ἥσαν. F. || περιστοιχίζεται, *indoes in a net*: *indagine cingit, cirosaretur* (Cic. Verr. 5, 58, 150), F.: *a hunting term*. Κατὰ τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν θηρίων ὅρθα ξύλα ιστᾶσιν (οἱ τυνηγίται), δὲ καλοῦσι στίχους ἡ στοάχους, καταπεταγνύντες αὐτῶν δίκτυα, ίν τάν αὐτοὺς ἐφύγηρ τὰ θηρία εἰς τὰ δίκτυα ἤτεσσι, Harpocr. || πότ’ οὖν,—πότε, *when then, when will you?* Dem. is very fond of this nervous repetition of a word. || ἔτεισθαν τί γένεται; lit. *when what has happened?* i. e. *what must happen before*

(P. you will act with vigour ! Cf. Plat. Alcib. 1, 8, 6, p. 107 : δραν οὖν 3). περὶ τίνος βουλεύωνται (ἀναστήσου αὐτοῖς συμβουλεύσων). 18, 209 : ἐμὲ δὲ—τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λάβοντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔδει ; Cf. below, § 20, 34. Liv. 44, 39 : sine ulla sede rati dimitassemus, ut quo nos victores recipieremus ? K. || ἀνεῳδάν, ε.τ.λ., “formula νὴ Δια cum Demosthenes hac ratione, ubi sibi vel responderi aliquid vel objici fingit, uti soleat cum ironia quadam, recte Bekkerns post γ̄ interrogati signum puncto permutavit.” K. || νῦν δέ then now what are we to consider the events that are taking place to be [if not an ἀνάγκη, a case of extreme and urgent necessity] ? F. observes that the νῦν, which properly relates to γιγνόμενα, is placed at the head of the sentence to mark emphatically the νῦν as opposed to the expected future state. || ἐγώ μέν. This ἐγώ μέν, without a following δέ, is very common in Dem. K.—μέν, “ad omissam sententiam (quid alii existimant, non curio) relatum est.” F.—On εἰπέ μοι in the sing., cf. Gr. 651 (535, d). || περιβόρτες. This Athenian habit of going about, especially κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, asking for news, is frequently alluded to contemptuously by Dem., e. g. 19, 288 : πρότερον μὲν γάρ, τί ταρ' ὑμῖν τύχεισται, τοῦτ' ἐπείγοντον οἱ ἀλλοι πάντες Ἑλληνες νῦν δὲ δὴ περιερχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, τί δέδοσται τοῖς ἀλλοῖς, στοκοῦντες, καὶ ὥτακον-στοῦντες, τι τὰ τῶν Ἀρεάδων, τι τὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ποι πάρεστι Φλιππος, ζῇ η τίθυντεν ; F. || αἴτων, i.e. ἀλλήλων [Gr. 1009 (791) § 854, 2]. Cf. 9, 21, 58, 20. προσήκει τοὺς ἀντιδίκους, ὅπως ἀν-αὐτοὺς πειθώσῃ, διοκεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, coll. 59, 46 : ἐάν δὲ καὶ ἀλλως πως ἀλλήλους πειθώσῃ, ταῦτα τύρια εἰσαι. Cf. 39, 23, 40, 29, 48, 7. F. || Μακεδὼν ἀνήρ, “contemptuously V. ad 3, 16.” F.

c. ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ ; “Some time after the siege of Methōnē Philip was attacked by a dangerous illness. The reasons which induce the Athenians to take so lively an interest in this occurrence are explained in Olynth. iii. The king was besieging the fortress of Heræum, in Thrace, and in all probability made no secret of his designs on Byzantium. This movement occasioned great excitement at Athens. It was resolved to equip a considerable force, and a portion of the citizens were even required to serve on board the triremes ; but many months elapsed before these preparations were completed. Exactly at this juncture the news of Philip's illness reached Athens ; and more than once it was confidently reported that he was dead. In consequence of these reports the Athenians relaxed in their exertions, and, even when the hopes which they had entertained of being relieved from all their difficulties by the king's death proved fallacious, the decree which they had passed was only partially carried into effect. Comp. with this passage a similar one in the *Oration de Falsa Leg.* : ‘In former days, O Athenians, the other Grecian states looked to your decisions ; but now we ourselves run here and there to find out what others have done. What have the Arcadians determined on ? What have the Amphictyons decreed ? Where is Philip now ? Is he alive or dead ? I have no fears for my own personal safety from Philip's life ; but I am afraid, when your hatred of traitors languishes and dies ; the king would not terrify me, if your

hearts were only right; but I shudder at the thought that those (P. who are in his pay still remain unpunished," &c. J. || καὶ γάρ. Gr. 3). 1476, t (1053, A). || ἐν τῷ, *siquidem*. || οὕτω, *in this way*, i. e. as you now do, in no better way. || οὐδὲ γάρ οὕτως, *nam ne hio quidem*. Even this Philip, as contrasted with the new Philip, that your own inactivity will create. || τῷπάρ here virtually = *on account of, through, from*; the notion being that of parallel extension with its cause : of co-augmentation. Cf. 18, 232: πάντα γάρ παρὰ τοῦτο —γίγενε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ—δέντρι τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δέντρι παρηγέγκα: *negat in eo positas esse fortunas Gracia, huc an illas manus porrezerit* (Cic. Or. 8, 27). Cf. 9, 2. Weber ad 23, 205. F. || κατότας καὶ τοῦτο, *quamquam ut siiam hoc afferam vel afferatur*. Supply ικνυμητός, or some such notion. Wst. Cf. 18, 123: οὐ καὶ γάρ τοῦτο, 19, 314, 56, 40: καὶ γάρ αὐτὸύτο, 21, 167: ἐπει κάκτινο, 44, 55. F. || βάθιτον, sc. ἐπιμελεῖται ἡμῶν. Cf. 3, 29. Thuc. 1, 82, 2: δοῖς ὥστε καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλευόμεθα. F. || καὶ τοῦτ', *etiam hoc*, i. e. τὸ παθεῖν τι Φιλιππον. F. || ἀπαστιν ἄν, *e.g.l.* The ἄν stands thus early in the clause, because the conditional force of it (though here virtually lost by a Greek idiom) belongs to the participle as well as to the verb: = *ἀπαστιν ἀν . . . ἐπιστάητε καὶ διουκήσασθε*. || ἐπιστῆναι = "adstare, i. e. praesto esse, ut quavis rerum gerendarum opportunitate uti possint." F. || δότις βούλεσθε, *pro arbitrio (at your pleasure)*. On the indicative cf. Gr. 1389 (1001) § 886, 2. || διδόντων [διδόντα = *to offer*] καρδῶν τὴν Ἀμφίστολη. See Introduction. || ἀπότρητάντοι . . . γνώματα, *being removed both in your preparations and seeing*, i. e. having neither your army nor your thoughts there. Προσίχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν, § 11: i. e. καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις μὴ ἀπότρησθαι τὸν πράγματων. F. = *ἀπόντες* above, as opp. to παρόντες, sc. τοῖς πράγμασιν. Wst.

## § 3. [§ 13, p. 43.]

JN. "ώς μὲν οὖν (ὑμᾶς) ἄπαντας ὑπάρχειν ιδίωντας πομένι ἔτοι- 3 μως τὰ προσήκοντα. Ceterum ἄπαντας ἔτοιμως graviter in fine d enunciationis collocata sunt." F. || ὑπάρχειν ιδίωντας is an emphatic ἴθιλιν, denoting more strongly a permanent state. So 15, 1: ἄπαντες ὑπάρχειν ἰγνωστές μοι δοκεῖτε, and often. || ὡς ἰγνωστές, *in the belief that you know, &c., because I believe that you know*. Gr. 1143 (866) § 701. || τὸν τοιούτον πράγμα, *hoo talij rerum statu*. F. || τὸ πλήθος, sc. τῶν στρατευομένων. F. || δοτον—οὔτινες, sc. ἀπαλλάξαι: ἀν οἴματ. F. || καὶ θη, *immediately, at once*. Gr. 1459, b. || ἐπειδάν, "legitimum asyndeton, 'quum res ante vel universas vel obseurius indicata explicatur accuratius.'" Herm. F. || πρόταρον προλαμβ. Compare πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε above in p. 2, D. Thuc. 6, 57: ἴβουλοντο πρότερον εἰ δύναιντο προτιμήσασθαι. "Sensus est: ne prius antecertire (sc. judicio, quod est o verbo *κρίνειν* supplendum), quam omnia audieritis, i. e. ne occupate judicare." F. Observe the *single, definite act* (*κρίνειν*) which was to follow the full hearing of the orator's explanation, as contrasted with the *continued state* of mental anticipation προλαμβάνετε.

## PAGE 4.

(P.

4).

<sup>▲</sup> εἰς δέον, in rem vestram, e re vestra. So § 10, c.—Cf. Or. 20, 26 : τὰς εὐπορίας—εἰς δίον ὑμῖν γιγνομένας. Ib. 44 : εἰς δίον δὲ νῦν γέγονεν αὐτῷ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν λαβεῖν τότε τὴν ἀτέλειαν. F. || τῇ νῦν βοηθείᾳ. Gr. 690 (554) § 546. || ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δεῖξῃ, ε.τ.λ. = ἀλλ' οὐτος (μάλιστα εἰς δίον λίξει) οὐδὲ δὲ δεῖξῃ, ε.τ.λ. || τίς πορισθεῖσα. ε.τ.λ. In English a sentence like this must be divided into two or more sentences, and the *ric*, *πότη*, and *πόθεν* rendered by substantives : *but he who shall declare the nature and extent of the armament that must be raised, and the sources from which it must be supported, that it may be able to hold out till, &c.*—Observe διαμείνει (aor. inf.), though of a continued action. See Gr. 745, 6 (600, as b) § 401, obs. 1. || τοῦ λοιποῦ (= ever again, hereafter) denotes future repetition ; τὸ λοιπόν, future continuance (henceforth). Cf. Gr. 1517. Herm. ad Vig. 706. (In § 523 this difference is not mentioned.) || μὴ κωλέον, rather than οὐ κωλύω, because the participle is to be taken in close connexion with the *infn.* ἔχειν = ita me dicere posse, ut non impediām, &c. F. Gr. 1184, o. || ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι = to profess. Br. says “*ἐπισχνεῖσθαι est polliceri, quod præstare et poesis et velis, et si alter a te non flagitaverit : ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι est promittere, quod alter non flagitaverit, plerumque etiam quod præstare non possis, sive vanitate ducatur, sive lucri studio, sive alia causa.*” This is too strong :—*ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι*, as referring to the statement of the individual himself, may receive more or less of *doubt* and *discredit*, according to the obvious implication of the speaker ; but the mere word does not *imply* so much as B. makes it. || μὲν οὖν. Gr. 1479 (1053, i). || οὕτω μεγάλη, so great, i. e. as the promise virtually made, when, by stating what would be most to the purpose (*i.e.* δίον), I implied that I would do this. || τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα, “*res* (i. e. *expositio consilii, quæ jam sequitur*).” F. || ὅλεγχον δέσσα = probationem dabit : will show whether I have, or have not promised more than I shall perform. Cf. 22, 22 : *altria μὲν γάρ ξτινα, δταν τις ψυλῶ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχῃται πίστιν ὧν λέγει, ἐλεγχος δὲ, δταν ὧν ἀν εἰπῃ τις καὶ τάληθες ὁμοῦ δεῖξῃ.* F.

## § 4. [§ 16, p. 44.]

4 πεντήκοντα. B. remarks that this was but a moderate number, since the Athenians were able, in the days of Dem., to equip a fleet of from three to four hundred triremes. || θεῖν, absolutely, as is often the case. So oportere, e. g. Cic. de Fin. 1, 9, 30 : *quorum nihil oportere exquisitis rationibus confirmare*. F. || εἴτα. Gr. 1467, § 766, 1. || οὕτω τὰς γν. ἔχειν, ὡς, . . . πλευστέον. Such forms as οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν (οὕτως διακείσθαι, &c.) are often followed by ὡς with gen. abso. (e. g. Xen. Cyr. ὡς οὖν ἐμοῦ μηδέποτε ἀμελήσοντος οὗτως ἔχει τὴν γνώμην). Here the acc. abso. is used with the neut. gerundive, of which I am not able to furnish another example. || τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τὸν ἵππον, i. e. 500 : for each tribe furnished 100. Cf. Gr. 857, b (706) § 442 c, d. || ιππαγγωντὸς τριήρ., “*τριήρεις ε. οῆς εἰπαγγωγοῖ*

*αἰτιηγοί*, quae primum Pericle auctore Ol. 87, 2, e vetustis navibus (P. facte sunt (Thuc. 2, 56), triremes dicuntur, quibus equites et equi 4). vehebantur. Ab his et ὄπλαγχοι τρ., de quibus supra, et τρίτρες ταχῖαι (p. 5, 1.), *naves longæ*, quarum in pugna navalı usus erat, distinguendæ sunt." F. || τλοῖα, sc. τὰ φέροντα τὰ ιπιτῆδεα καὶ ὑπερικά. Sch. || καὶ Χερσόνεων. "The expedition against Pylos (Thermopylae) Olymp. 107, 1, has already been frequently mentioned. Kerasobleptes, son of the Thracian king Cotys, had ceded the whole of the Thracian Chersonese, except the city of Cardia, to the Athenians, who took possession of it, and reduced the cities which offered any resistance. (Or. in Aristote. p. 261. Diodor. vi. 34.) That this resistance was encouraged by Philip, is by no means improbable; but nothing further is known of the expedition which he undertook at the time when this oration was delivered. An expedition against Olynthus after the siege of Heræum and the illness of Philip, which happened about this time, are both mentioned by Demosthenes. Olynth. i. 13, 3." J. || πρῶτην "super, id est ante quattuor annos. 22, 14, i. q. ante tres annos." F. || εἰς Πόλας. "It is evident that the orator is here contrasting former and more recent occurrences. Neither in the expedition against Eubœa, nor the other against Haliartus (a city of Boœotia) was the interest of the Macedonian king at stake, as Tourreil supposes; but both are adduced simply as instances of successful activity. It is probable, as Leland conjectures, that by the first of these is meant the expedition against the Thebans, undertaken by the Athenians (Ol. 105, 3), for the benefit of the Eubœans. This enterprise is mentioned by Demosthenes, Olynth. p. 11, 10, Or. c. Mid. 570, and more distinctly de Statu Chers. p. 108, 12. The other is of a different date. When the disputes between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans began, Haliartus was besieged by Lysander (Ol. 96, 2), who was slain in a sally by the Thebans and Athenians. Pausanias, the Spartan king, having marched against Haliartus, the Athenians despatched a force thither under the command of Thrasybûlus, and compelled the king to conclude an armistice and retrace his steps. Plutarch. Vita Lysandr. c. 29. Xenoph. Hist. Hell. 5, 6—25." J. || σύντι παντελῶς, sans prorsus non. Sch.

εἰ μὴ παντελῶς ἀν τοῦτο. "Recte additur ἀν, cum emuntatio per cse, h. e. nulla ratione habita antegressus particulae εἰ, sit hypothetica: etiamque forte (εἰ τίχοι) hoc non faciat. Ut autem conditio nostra in loco latet involuta, sic expressa est in Xen. Cyr. 1, 6, 41, εἰ τοιαῦτα ἔθελισσας καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μεχανᾶσθαι, οὐκ οἶδεν ἔγωγε, εἰ τινα λίκος ἀν τὸν πολεμίων." Sch. || έξεγγόλλοντες, "sunt (inveniuntur) apud nos, qui παντελῶς, idque justο plera." F. || ταῖον τοῦ δέοντος. "Tourreil is quite right in supposing that these words refer, not to *Aechines*, whose compact with the king is of a later date, but to *Aristodæmus*, and *Neoptolemus*, and very possibly to other parties also; for the urbanity and liberality of Philip had gained him friends and adherents in every part of Greece, where, as we are told by Diodorus (xvi. 54), there was at that time 'an abundant crop of traitors.'" J. || ἀφόλακτος λαβθῆ (= μη φυλαττόμενος) may be taken of his guard. || μηδενός (neut.), nothing: μηδέν, rather than

(P. οὐδέν, on account of ἵνα. F. || θεόθεαι : ἐμφατικῶς, *qua deoleta* 4). *esse oportet.* Cf. 5, 12. 8, 3. 15. 14, 17: καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα οὕτω φησί διὸν συντετάχθαι (F.): the perf. inf. here denotes a completed state, what should be done and finished off. || προχωρίσασθαι, to hold in readiness, i. e. "προχείρους ποιήσασθαι, parare copias, quibus, cum velia, uti possis." F. || ή . . τολμήσαι, Gr. 1248 (923) § 826, 2. || μῆ μοι, sc. εἰπεῖς σίνε λεγίτω τις. Cf. Arist. Ach. 344, ἀλλὰ μῆ μοι πρόφασιν. F.

D "The expression ἐπιστολαισίους δυνάμεις, forces on paper, is explained by the warning which immediately follows. According to the Lex. Rhet. in Bekker's Anekd. p. 253, they are τὰς ἵν ἐπιστολαῖς γραφομένας μένον δυνάμεις ἔργα δὲ η ἵν πολέμῳ μὴ θεωρουμένας. Reiske (ind. verb. ἐπιστολαιμαῖος) understands the phrase to mean 'letters,' in which the city promised to her generals large reinforcements, which were never sent out—'copias pietas solummodo et litteris consignatas.' Further on we find this caution, 'Consider that the war with Philip is not to be carried on merely by decrees and LETTERS.' D'Olivet thinks that the expression refers to letters in which promises were made to the mercenary soldiers, which were never fulfilled. There seems, however, no reason why we should thus limit the words of the orator." J. || ἀλλ' ή, "sed eas (tales) copias, *qua* — *futura* sint. Hac enim pariter atque ea que prececedunt η δύναμις τινα definient et determinant." Sp. || τῆς πόλεως ἕνται = *to belong to the State; to be its army, and to do its work.* The reference is not to the composition of the army, though it was to consist partly of citizens, but to its obedience to generals appointed by Athens, as contrasted with the licentiousness which had sometimes led mercenary troops to make war on their own account whilst receiving Athenian pay." || εἴν. "Excidiisse videtur nonnullis καὶ ante κάν, certe intelligendum, ut sit i. q. καὶ, κάν ὑμῖς ἔνα εὖ πλεῖστος—χειροτονήσῃτε στρατηγόν, τοῦτῳ πίστεται, κ.τ.λ., ut Phil. iii. p. 119, § 32: τίθησι—τὸν—ἀγανά, κάν αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δόλους πέμψαι, pro καὶ, κάν—μὴ παρῇ, —πέμψει. Facile omisit in n. l. καὶ Demosthenes, quis, quanquam variatā structurā, extrellum enunciatum cum his conjungitur ita: καὶ—καλένω. Infra p. 10, B, κάν, i. q. καὶ, ἀν ad diversas enunciations referendum." V. || τροφήν, maintenance, i. e. the mere rations (without pay). || δοξάσαι, will choose: the thing required was to find a sufficient inducement to make this armament willing and anxious to effect Athenian objects. It must not be set down as equivalent to δυνήσσεται.—ταῦτα ποιεῖν, *to do this,* relates, not to the immediately preceding τροφήν ξέσι, but the more distant ἀλλ' ή τῆς πόλεως ξέσαι—καὶ ἀκολουθήσαι. Sp. || καθ' ἵκαστον τούτων, each of these particulars one by one: καθ' ἵκαστον is taken virtually, as one word; and here as the object of διεξιών. Cf. 9, 22. 64. 18, 17: Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐν ἵκαστον αὐτῶν ξέσασαι. || ξένους μὲν λέγε. "To propose such forces was always popular among the pleasure-loving Athenians of the time of Demosthenes. The orator names them first; then, in order to conciliate his hearers, and show them that, although he had

not a very good opinion of such troops by themselves, still he did not (P. intend entirely to exclude them. But having it in his mind to propose what he knew would seem but an insignificant force to the magnificent notions of the Athenian legislators, who were famous for voting great things and executing nothing, he throws in, in a parenthesis, a reason for so doing, and then, when he resumes the subject (p. 5, A, λίγα δή), proceeds to speak of the force as a whole, commencing as though nothing had been said upon the point before." C. aft. V. || έπεις μὴ ποιήσετε, take care not to do. Gr. 799 (639) § 812, 2. || πάντ' . . . δέοντος, whilst nothing ever seems to you great enough. || ἐπὶ τῷ πράττ., "in agendo, i. e. quum ad agendum ventum est, ne parva quidem faciatis s. efficiatis." F.

## PAGE 5.

λέγω δή, I say, then. δή, resumptive, = igitur, inquam. || τοὺς πάντας. Gr. 706 (569). || στρατιῶται here = foot-soldiers, being opposed to cavalry. Cf. § 6, B, § 9, B. Liv. 22, 37, 7: *militi atque equite scire, nisi Romani Latinique nominis, non uti populum Romanum.* || διαχίλους is *predicative*, i. e. a *predicative apposition*: *I state the whole number at two thousand.* || μὴ μακρόν. "The orator proceeds very gently in developing this unpopular feature of his plan; he will be very condescending and deferential to the sovereign people in the details, if only he may gain the main point." C. || ἐπὶ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις, lit. "by way of relieving each other," "upon the principle of relieving each other," = *vicius*, "in turn." C. κατὰ διαδοχήν, Thuc. 4, 8, 7. 7, 28, 2; κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνου, 7, 27, 2, h. e. ita, ut alteri alteris succedant. Cf. Aesch. 2, 168: *καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπὶ διαδοχῆς ιξόδους—ιξῆλθον.* For the dat. cf. Xen. Cys. 1, 4, 17: ή διαδοχὴ τῇ πρόσθιν φυλακῇ (as ib. 8, 6, 18: τῷ ἡμερινῷ ἀγγέλῳ τὸν νυκτερινὸν διαδέχεσθαι). Pausan. 10, 22, 2: *ἀστοργανων βαρβάρων ἐπὶ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις ὑβριζόντων.* V. || διακοσίους, this was the usual proportion of one horse-soldier to ten foot-soldiers. V. || εἰλεύθερος, good, well; *estō, hæc hactenus, ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως.* Timaeus: *συγκατάθεσις μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων συναφὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μιλλοντα.* Cf. 19, 6. 20, 22, 23, 14. || καὶ τοχεῖν, i. e. οὐ μόνον τῶν ἵππαγωγῶν (§ 16), ἀλλὰ καὶ ταχεῖν. F.

πόθεν δή. On δή with interrogatives, cf. Gr. 1459, h. § 723, 2, end. B || διότι, here as a dependent interrogative. || τηλικαύτην, as τοσαύτην, § 5, = *so great* (and no greater), i. e. *so small*; *so insignificant*. Cf. 47, 54: *φοντο μὲν γάρ οὐ τοσάντα μόνον λήψεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ πλεῖστο.* Isocr. 12, 70: *ἡμῖν μὲν γάρ συνέπεσε περὶ νησόδρυα τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικαύτα τὸ μέγεθος ἵεα πρετεῖν, δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲ Ἰσασιν.* F. Cf. Cœs. B. G. 6, 35: *tantum præsidii est, ut ne murus quidem oīngi possit.* || ἀποχρῆν is the inf. in use, not ἀποχρῆναι. || καὶ πολύτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι, the obvious way of construing the words, is to consider τοὺς στρατ. the subject, πολ. the predicate; *and that the troops should be citizens:* but then this is inconsistent with the fact, that only one quarter of the troops were to be citizens. Hence F. considers πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους as the subject = *our cives eos qui militent esse*

(P. (adesse) *jubeam*. The words, however, do not mean this: it is better perhaps to consider Dem. to mean, that those who march from Athens on this service, should be citizens: (not μέτοικοι, &c.) The mercenaries would be afterwards procured.

## § 5. [§ 23, p. 45.]

**5** τοσαύτην μὲν, sc. ἀποχρῆν οἷμαι. *F.* || οὐ = οὐεστί. || τὴν . . . παραταξόρεύν, a force which shall confront him in battle = a force to meet him in just battle. 18, 208: τοῦς δὲ Πλαταιαῖς παρατάξαμένους. *F.* || δεκάνη, i. e. τῷ ικετείνον δυνάμει. *Aesch.* 3, 128: μήδεν αἱ συρφοραὶ παρατλήσωι γίνοντο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τὸν Ἑλλήνων. *Ib.* 228: ἀφομοιοὶ γάρ μον τὴν φύσιν ταῖς Σειρῆναις. *F.* || ληστεόν = to carry on a guerrilla warfare; to carry on a petty war; to carry on an irregular warfare. Cf. Liv. 1, 15: "Latronum sive militum grassantium modo bellum gerere, quibus frumentum quidem, nec vero stipendium sit solvendum, sed præda libere vivendum; qui in fines Macedonise excurrent populabundi magis quam justi more belli; non castris positis, non exspectato hostium exercitu raptam ex agris prædam portantes redirent." Cf. § 8, d. *V.* || τὴν πρότερην. Gr. 1617, § 558, 1.—On this war cf. Handbk. Anct. Hist. § 304.—It was in this war that mercenaries were first employed by Athens on a large scale; the long series of hostilities having greatly increased the number of persons who were thrown upon war as a means of subsistence (*Third. vol. iv. p. 449*). The great victory of the war was the famous defeat of the Lacedæmonians by the Athenians under Iphierates, with his newly-equipped *targeeters*.

**c** διαύω = I have heard. Gr. 766, g (614, d) § 396. || τρέψειν, "i.e. διὰ ἔργετιν ἡ πόλις, ne præsens pro aoristo esse credas." *F.* || ἐν Κορίνθῳ. "Aristophanes in the *Plutus*, v. 173, alludes to the maintenance of an army of mercenaries at Corinth by the Athenians, Ol. 96, 3. ¶ Many Athenian generals are mentioned by name as leaders of this force: among others Polystratus. This name, however, in the passage before us, was a stumbling-block to the grammarian Didymus, who wished to substitute *Polytropus*, from Xeneph. Histor. Gr. vi. 5, 11, an alteration to which Harpocration not unreasonably objects (in *Πολύτρατος*, p. 296). Another critic proposes *Callistratus* (from the oration of Demosthenes against Timotheus). But these suggestions are negatived, as Leland justly observes, by Demosthenes himself, who, in his *Orat. e. Leptis.* p. 482, 86, mentions Polystratus in conjunction with Iphierates, who played a very conspicuous part in this war." *J.* || δι—στρατεόεσσα = since they have undertaken expeditions alone. Gr. 740 (594). || οἱ δὲ διχόποι. Observe the δι without a preceding μήν. This renders the contrast sharper, by stating the notions more independently. || παρέκρινεν is to bend down the head to look at an object: hence the notion is that of looking at an object as one passes by it. The derived notion, as here, is that of just glancing at it, and hence, with reference to things to be done, to pay them but a slight and passing attention. So Luc. Pisc. 30: ἐπειδὴ μόνον παρέκρινεν οἱ τὰ μύρτρα. *Ap.* [In

St. James, δὲ παρανύψας εἰς νόμον τίλιον τὸν τῆς Ἰλειθερίας (P. is coupled with παραμένειν, and therefore denotes a more *continued* 5). gazing at or rather *looking into* the object.] || Ἀρτάβαλος, “There can be no doubt that Demosthenes here alludes to the aid afforded by Charax to the insurgent satrap Artabazus, although the orator represents the circumstances differently from Diodor. vi. 22. According to the historian, Charax, in the war with the Confederates, Ol. 106, 1, was compelled, by absolute necessity, to lend his army to Artabazus, that he might discharge the arrears due to his soldiers. The Athenians were at first perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, which relieved them from present embarrassment; but when the king of Persia complained bitterly of the assistance rendered to his rebellious subjects, and threatened to support the opposite party, they all at once became eager for peace. Demosthenes, without bringing any charge against the general, throws the blame on the soldiers; and it is very possible that Charax might have pleaded that the only object which he had in view, in thus yielding to the outcries of an impatient and mutinous soldiery, was the welfare of his country. This passage refers to one of the most objectionable practices in Athenian warfare, by which their friends were often disgusted. (Isocrates. Areop. c. 37, 38.) Plutarch says (Vit. Phocion. c. 11) that the allies of Athens and the islanders, were accustomed to regard the Athenians as enemies, when their fleets were seen off the coast, and to strengthen their fortifications, throw chains across their harbours, and place their property in safety. Phocion, speaking in condemnation of this policy, used to say that the Athenian government understood the art of rendering Athens odious even to those states which could not defend themselves without her assistance; and Demosthenes, in the Or. de Cor. trierarch. p. 1232, makes the speaker say, that considering the acts of violence which were committed in these maritime expeditions, it might fairly be said that such fleets as these were fitted out, not *in aid of*, but *against* the states which they affected to defend. What else could be expected from a miscellaneous rabble of adventurers, to whom the very name of patriotism was unknown! Yet the very greediness and licentiousness of those mercenaries were considered by Iphicrates important qualifications for the warfare in which they were engaged.” J. || δὲ στρατηγός = ‘*and the general*.’—δὲ connects notions of which the second is distinguished from the first, but *not opposed to* it. || εἰλότως, (*neque id mirum est* =) ‘naturally,’ ‘naturally enough.’ || ἄρχειν is here emphatic, *to command*: to be really the *commander*, receiving and enforcing obedience. || μὴ θεόντα (sc. τινά) is to be resolved conditionally with if—not; unless.

τὰς προφάσους, sc. those that are in the habit of alleging. || ἀνό- D  
πτος, “*inspectores*, exquisite dictum; nam sic ii, qui magnis mysteriis  
initiati erant, appellabantur. Infra § 11, μάρτυρες dicit.” F. || τῶν στρατηγούμενών τὸν παρὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν πραγματίνων, as § 11.  
Comp. the passive use of other intransitive verbs: e.g. τὰ σοι κάροι  
βεβιωμένα, 18, 266; τὸν στρατηγούμενον τὸν βίον, Λεσχ. 2, 4. F.  
|| παρακαταστήσαστε, sc. τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τῷ ταξίαρχῳ. F.

(P. οὐ γέλως = γελοῖσθ. Cf. our ‘a joke.’ 19, 73, ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα γέλως,  
 5). μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναισχυντία δεινή. F. || φύλακες. “The words, ‘we  
 carry on war with Philip,’ must not be taken literally, for, at the  
 time when this speech was delivered, there had been no open rup-  
 ture; although the business of Amphipolis, the sending troops to  
 Eubœa, which were opposed by a Macedonian force (Ol. 106, 3),  
 and the measures adopted in consequence of Philip’s advance to  
 Thermopylae (Ol. 106, 4), and his proceedings in Thrace (Ol. 107,  
 1), amounted to an indirect declaration of war.” J. || οὐδὲ ἔχειρο-  
 τεῖντες. The orator here resumes the discourse himself, after  
 the supposed dialogue. The Athenians were in the habit of choos-  
 ing ten generals (*στρατηγούς*) annually, one from each tribe, who  
 shared among them the chief command of the army and manage-  
 ment of military affairs. Also, ten *taxisarchs*, under the generals,  
 each of whom led the infantry of his tribe in war; then two *hip-  
 parochi*, who led the cavalry, and under these ten *phylarchs*, one  
 for the cavalry of each tribe. It is worthy of remark, that, in  
 naming these officers, the lower officer is mentioned before the  
 higher, just as we say *captains* and *colonels*. C. [Gr. Antiq. 150.]—  
 ἔχειροτεῖντες, i.e. lately; or, this year as usual. F. || οὐδὲ ἔχειροτεῖ-  
 ντεῖντες = quæcumque misericordia. Gr. 1251 (924) § 831, 1, 2. It is implied  
 that they had not yet sent any *one* of them. The Athenians plainly  
 were at war with Philip, though the war was yet not proclaimed, and  
 so indolently prosecuted, that it was difficult even for an Athenian to  
 know whether it was peace or war. || τὰς πορεύες, i.e. the regular  
 processions of the year. || λεπροτάνων. “Sacrificers, *τέρετοι*. For an  
 account of these functionaries, of whom ten were annually nominated  
 from the ten tribes, see the commentator on Pollux, 8, 107, and  
 Valer. ad Maussac. Not. in Harpocr. p. 132. They superintended the  
 celebration of religious solemnities, watched the behaviour of the  
 soothsayers when the sacrifices were inspected, and also selected the  
 victims. See Böckh, Economy of Athens, p. 215 (with note 275). Pro-  
 bably on festivals they walked in procession to the temple, accom-  
 panied by other magistrates; among whom, as we gather from this  
 passage, were officers of the republic, who enjoyed their ‘*otium cum  
 dignitate*’ at Athens after it had become the custom to leave the toils  
 of war to mercenary troops. The parades of the cavalry on solemn  
 occasions are described by Xenophon, Magister Equit. c. 3.” J.

## PAGE 6.

A έτι τὸν πόλεμον. “For processions, and to augment the bril-  
 liancy of your religious festivals, not for use. The words οἱ πλάτ-  
 τοντες τοὺς πηλίνους in the comparison signify puppet-makers, who  
 are elsewhere called πηλοπλάθοι and κοροπλάσται. That these  
 artists, among other figures, produced representations of soldiers and  
 generals, we may readily suppose; nor can, I think, the simile of  
 the orator be understood in any other sense. Auger says, that  
 sculptors used to set up figures of clay before their doors by way of  
 signs, a remark which does not seem much to the purpose, although

it must be allowed that his translation of the passage expresses the (P. author's meaning better than that of Leland, who renders it too 6). vaguely thus : 'So that, as if you formed so many men of clay, you make your officers for show and not for service.' " J. || σὺ γάρ ἔχοντι. On γάρ in interrogations cf. Gr. 1455, 9, § 872, 1. Here it is equivalent to 'for tell me.' The force of it may be given by 'but,' opposing what ought to be to what is. " *'Ἐχοῦσιν εἶναι, οπορεῖται εἶναι, αὐτὸν sunt; ἔχοταν δὲ εἶναι, οπορεῖται εἶναι, αὐτὸν οπορεῖται (§ 1).'*  F. || παρ' ὑμῶν (*from* =) of yourselves. " Cf. Din. 1, 56, τὸν παρ' αὐτῶν, i. e. hominem ex ipsorum numero." F. || ἄρχοντας ὀλκέλους, leaders of your own : παρ' ὑμῶν is the predicate repeated, and ἄρχ. ὀλκίους a predicative apposition.—According to Wst. ἄρχοντας is also subject, ἄρχοντας [= in short your commanders generally] εἶναι ὀλκίους. || ήτοι τὸν = ut esset. Gr. 1314 (955) § 813. || εἰς . . . Λήμνον. Philestratus (Heroic. 19, 14) informs us, that a lustral ceremony was held at Lemnos every year with great splendour. Since, then, the island contained many resident Athenians, it is natural to suppose that a procession was sent from Athens to assist at the pageant. " In the war of the Confederates, an army of Athenian citizens was sent to the assistance of the Lemnians. Diodor. 16, 21. The Menelaus mentioned by Demosthenes as having been the commander of the army of observation despatched to the frontier after Philip's unsuccessful attempt on Thermopylæ, is said to have been the half-brother of the Macedonian king spoken of by Justin 7, 4, and Harpocration Μενέλαος. (See Valesius, p. 52.) D'Olivet, on the other hand, remarks, that even if Philip were not on the best terms with his brothers, the Athenians would scarcely have selected one of them for a post of such importance. We may add, that Demosthenes would not, in all probability, have omitted turning this circumstance to account, in the shape of an accusation either against the Athenian people, or, on some other occasion, against Philip himself. It seems, however, certain, that this Menelaus was a foreigner." J. || θαύματι πλεῖν, must sail, i. e. according to your actual practice. || ἀφ' ὑμῶν . . . κακ. " *A vobis creatum, unde patet civem esse. 'Ab Atheniensibus enim non poterat χειρονεύθαι nisi qui ipse esset Atheniensis.'* Sch. Hoc unum autem reprehendit Demosthenes, quod peregrinus homo, isque ne a populo quidem creatus, militibus in bello presit, non natus alterve ex eorum numero, quos populus exercitu præfecerit." F.

## § 6. [§ 28, p. 47.]

καὶ περάνω. "Uti cupitis audire, sic etiam dicendo exsequor." 6 Sp. || χρήματα is the nom., which is subdivided, as it were, into <sup>B</sup> η τροφή. || έστι, is = amounts to, comes to. || η τρεφή is the subject, σιγηρέσιον μόνον (*the mere subsistence*) in opposition to it ; an apposition added to exclude the notion that this sum includes the pay of the troops. || μικρόν τι πρός, a little besides, or more. πρός adverbial. Gr. 1429 (1036, c) § 840. Cf. in Aph. A., § 68, στερομένους καὶ πρός ικανά τούτων ιδιαίτερους. Lept. § 112, p. 491, ἐγώ δὲ ηγούμαται τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πόλλα ἀσύμφοροι εἴναι

(P. τὴν πόλει λέγεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οὐ δίκαιον. Eur. Orest. 621, Μενέλαος,  
6). σοὶ δὲ τάδε λέγω, δράσω τε πρός. Phoen. 613, καὶ κατακτενῶ γε  
πρός. Br.—The scheme is :—

(m. = minæ; dr. = drachmæ.)

Per month.

$$\begin{array}{c} \left. \begin{array}{l} 20 \text{ m.} \\ 10 \text{ dr.} \\ 30 \text{ dr.} \end{array} \right\} \times 12 = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 240 \text{ m.} \\ 120 \text{ dr.} \\ 360 \text{ dr.} \end{array} \right\} \times \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 10 \text{ trir.} \\ 2000 \text{ inf.} \\ 200 \text{ cav.} \end{array} \right\} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2400 \text{ m.} = 40 \\ 240,000 \text{ dr.} = 40 \\ 72,000 \text{ dr.} = 12 \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \quad \text{tal. 92}$$

Hence the *foot-soldiers* and *marines* (i.e. fighting-men in the triremes) were to receive two oboli a-day: the cavalry one drachma each. || τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου. Gr. 868 (685) § 523. || στρατιώτας. Gr. 904 (716) § 598, obs. || τοσαῦθ' ἔτερα, i.e. τετταράκοντα ἔτερα (cf. 57, 6), *totidem*, alterum tantum. Cf. 27, 31. Liv. 1, 36 extr., *numero (equitum) alterum tantum adjectis, ut mille ad ducenti equites in tribus centuriis essent*. Alii locis est, i. q. *bis tantum*, ut Isocr. 4, 153. Cf. Liv. 10, 46 extr., *militibus ex præda centenos binos asses et alterum tantum centurionibus atque equitibus divisit*. F. || στηρίσον . . ὑπάρχειν. This clause is the subject (*στηρίσον = ration-money, generally*), μικρὰν ἀφορμήν the predicate. ἀφορμή here = means, provision for the war. || ἐγνώκειν here, as often, = to judge, to think, to conclude. || προσπορεῖται. Several editors (e.g. Rüd.) would read, with Küster, *προσπορεῖται = sibi comparabit*; but this is unnecessary, for (1) the active is found elsewhere, where the middle might be expected (e.g. Olynth. 1 (2), 16, δὸν ἀν πορίσωσιν οὕτως, ὅπως ἀν δύνωνται. Supra, § 4, π, ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες τούτοις προστίθετε, ἀν ἐλάττῳ φαίνηται. Menand. p. 244, Cler., ἡμεῖς δὲ χωρὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κακῶν αὐτοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἔτερα προσπορίζομεν. Br.): (2) here the additional pay would be provided not only by the soldiers for themselves, but also by the soldiers for the state, which must otherwise have provided it.—We have here Buonaparte's favorite principle, of *making war support war*; though he did not attempt to do this (as Dem. thinks might be done) without injustice.

C ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, i.e. ἐκ τῆς λείας καὶ τῶν λαφύρων. Wolf. ἀπὸ denotes the source. Cf. 10, 2, πολεμεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων. Cf. Olynth. 3, 7, 3. Plat. Men. 90, 1, πλούσιος ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάρου. Rüd. || ἔτοιμος, Gr. 634, b (517) § 376.

### § 7. [§ 30, p. 48.]

7 θεοῦται εὑρεῖν, have been able to discover, i.e. by a report or *exposé* (as Wolf supposes), obtained by Demosthenes from the proper financial officers (*πορισταῖ*), of the means at the command of the government. C. || ταῦτα ἔστιν. “According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, these words are the beginning of a new oration.” J. || ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας, when you vote upon the resolutions, i. e. the different bills or plans for conducting the war which would be proposed by different orators. C. || χειροτονήσετε, you will vote, I am sure, milder imperat. He wished them to adopt the measures which

pleased them, because they would be more likely to carry them out, (P. and this was the main thing. C. || ἐπιστολais. See § 4, d. 6).

## § 8. [§ 31, p. 48.]

**δοκεῖτε** = *it seems to me.* Gr. 1071 (822, a) § 676, 2, a. || ἀν . . . 8 βουλεύσασθαι. Gr. 1087 (830) § 405, obs. 2. Observe the indic. pres. D δοκεῖτε in the apodosia, of which the protasis is *opt.* with ἀν. But, *virtually*, this is equivalent to βουλεύσασθαι ἄν, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ. || τὸν τόπον, the locality, situation. || φυλάξας, i.q. ἐπιτηρήσας. F. || τοὺς ἀπηστασ. Every year a regular *trade-wind* blows from the north-west eight days before the rising of the Dog-star (about the 12th of July), these gales were called *Prodromi* (precursors); about two days after its rising the same winds (under the name of *Etesian winds*) blow steadily through the Dog-days, tempering the heat of summer, but proving a great impediment to a northerly voyage. V. || ἐπιχειρεῖ, sc. αὐτοῖς i.e. τοῖς πολλοῖς οἷς διαπράττεται. F. || ἡνίκας ἀν . . . μὴ θνηταίμεθα. μὴ is used, not οὐ, because the sentiment is a *quoted view of Philip's*, and therefore belongs to the *oratio obliqua*. On ἀν with the opt. (where the *oratio recta* would have ἀν, c. subj.) cf. Gr. 1388 (1000) § 886, 3. || βοηθέας. Subitarii milites: ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant, Liv. 3, 1. *Tumultuario exercitu*, opposed to παρασκευὴ συνεχῆς, i.e. ἡ διαμένει, ἔως ἂν διαλνώσαμεθα — ἡ περιγενώμεθα, § 15, et δύναμις συνεχῆς, i.e. ἡ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ εἰκὼν εἰλίνον ποιήσῃ, § 19. Sp. Cf. § 10, c. sq., 8, 47. F. || ὑπερβούμεν, i.e., “sero venieimus.” F. “To this alacrity in anticipating the designs of his enemies and carrying out his own plans, Demosthenes here and elsewhere (see the Cherson.) ascribes the wonderful success of Philip in all his enterprises. See Valckenser. Or. de Phil. p. 250, not. 85.” J. || χειμάδια, a winter-station, winter-quarter, i.e. τόπω, ἵστορον ἀν τις δύνατο χειμῶνος ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι (Etymol. M.). “Hibernis, quibus hic exercitus utatur (τῷ δύναμει dat. commodi), Lemno—licet uti.” F. Lemnos, Thasos, Sciatthus, and other neighbouring islands, Scopelus, Halonnēsus, Peparēthus, &c., were then subject to Athens.

## PAGE 7.

τῷ τόπῳ, *regione s. tractu.* 20, 59, τὸν περὶ Θράκην τόπον. F. ή κρήνη, sc. ὑπάρχειν. F. || τὴν δ' ὥραν, κ.τ.λ. whilst (δι, Gr. 1058, o, § 764, e) during the season of the year when, &c. (i.e. in the summer months.) || πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι = to put in to shore (i.e. for military operations on the coast, blockading ports, &c.). || πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόματα, at the harbour-mouths of the commercial towns (to cut off convoys, prevent the exportation and importation of provisions, &c.). || ῥᾳδίως ἔσται, οὐ (the force that has wintered in the neighbourhood) will easily be (= take up its station, &c.).

## § 9. [§ 33, p. 49.]

χρήστεται, sc. δι τούτων κύριος. F. || παρὰ τὸν καιρόν, δι μὲν 9 occasio aderit. 20, 44, παρὰ τοῦς μεγίστους καιρούς (F.), according,

(P. to circumstances. Wst. || δια τοις ἀντίστροφοις, for what objects. || γέγραφα, scripto rogati; 7). (F.) ; i. e. the sums which I have stated to be necessary in my financial exposition, § 4, d. He had drawn up his proposal in a bill, to be formally voted upon. || ἀντεῖται. Jn. ἀντεῖται πορία. ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα δὲ λέγω. F. || ἀντεῖται νόμοι κατακλείσονται, if you bind them by law to carry on the war of the state, without running away to enter into expeditions of their own. Aesch. 2, 43, εἰς συνθήκην τινὰ ἡμάς κατίκλεισιεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτ' ἐρίν. F.

B τάλλα· τοὺς στρατώτας, τὸς τριήρες, τοὺς ἵππους : sc. παρασκευάσαντες τάλλα—ἐντελῆ, i. e. “*si reliqua paraveritis ita, ut nihil desit*” (v. ad 1, 28), non ἐντελῆ πᾶσαν, quod, sive *integras omnes copias* (Auger.) sive *copias plane universas* (Manut.) interpretare, Graecum non est.” F. || αὐτὸν ταρίπατον καὶ πορίστατο. “The financial administration was, it seems, at that time in the hands of the generals. Demosthenes recommends that they should be relieved from this duty, and be considered responsible only for the due discharge of their proper functions.” J. || γυγνόμενοι = by becoming; τῷ γίγνεσθαι (κατακλείσονται). F. || τὸν λόγον, the account (or his account); i. e. the account which every state-officer had to render, of public funds entrusted to his management. || ἔκεινον, sc. Philip's. || ἀντεῖ, with reference to the source from which his means of fighting you are derived. || ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, Gr. Syn. 96. Observe acc. persons. So 9, 52. 18, 230, ἀντεῖ τοὺς τοῦς λογστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν εἰς τῆς Εὐβοίας. 51, 13, πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν. F. || τοὺς πάσχειν—κακῶς ἔπει γενῆς. Compare the military terms ἔξω βελῶν γενέσθαι: ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γίγ., Xen. An. 2, 6, 11. F.

C οὐδὲ ὕστερ, “*non quemadmodum—abduxit*, scil. ita et in posterum abducere (οἴχησεται ἔχων); sic porro ἐκλεῖται et ἀποβίσσεται supplendum est. 21, 218, οὐ γάρ ἐκ πολιτευῆς αἰτιας οὐδὲ ὕστερ Ἀριστοφῶν—Ἐλυτος τὴν προβολήν (sc. οὕτω λόγων), ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅβρων—κρίνεται” F. || “*Iμβρον*. “Neither this nor the two other occurrences mentioned in this passage are noticed by any historian. Lucchesini supposes that they took place Ol. 105, 3: Winiewski places them in Ol. 106, 4. Comp. Vömel Proleg. ad Phil. i. p. 73.” J.—Bohnecke places them in Ol. 107, 3. || ὕστερ ἔχων, secum abduxit. F. || *Gerasurus*, a promontory in the south of Euboea, with a town of the same name upon it, and a port that was very convenient to persons sailing from Asia to Athens. Sp. || ἐξελαῖει, i.e. from the merchants whose vessels he intercepted. || τὴν λεπάνην... τριήρη, the Paralus. F. “There were two ‘sacred’ triremes, the Salaminia and the Paralus. Both were employed for religious purposes, such as the transport of embassies and theoriae to holy places. Harpocration supposes that the Paralus is here meant, and cites the historians Philochorus and Androtion in support of his opinion. See Wachsmuth, Grecian Antiquities, ii. 1.” J. || θύνασθε. Gr. 1251 (924) § 828, 3. || εἰς τοὺς χρ.: εἰς = against, by, and hence virtually at; but with reference to a future point of time, for which arrangements are now made. || Παναθηναῖον. On the *Panathaea* and *Dionysia* cf. Hbk. Gr. Antiq. 143. || θεοὺς οἱ μὲν δεινοὶ ἔνταῦθα οἱ ἱρεῖαι τῆς διαθίσεως τῶν ἑρτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἴδιωται οἱ ἀπειροὶ τῶν τοιούτων. Wolf.—δεινοί, ιδιώται, are the

*predicates*, are therefore without the article [Gr. 675 (546) § 480]; (P. the peculiarity of the clause is, that, instead of the simple copula 7). ὅσιν, the more *specific* verb λάχωσιν (denoting their election by *lot*) is placed. The whole meaning is, *whether the persons who conduct them, and who are chosen by lot to fill this office, are experienced persons or inexperienced*.

ἢχλον, κ.τ.λ., the construction is *καὶ* [*αἱ*, or rather, according to the Greek idiom, *αὐτὰ*] ἵξει τοσοῦτον ὄχλον *καὶ παρασκευὴν δῆμην*, κ.τ.λ. The ὄχλος relates to the number of persons employed in getting up the processions, &c., the παρασκευὴ to the costly *preparations*, the *vessels, dresses, &c.* || δῆμην . . . ἵξει, “*quantum (apparatum) necessario an nihil omnino habeat*, i. e. quantus ad nullam aliam rem impendi mihi videtur.” F. Sauppe mentions that in one year (Ol. 92, 3) the Athlothetas drew five talents and one thousand drachmæ from the treasury of Athénæ Polias for the celebration of the great Panathenæa. || τὸν εἰς Παγασά. “*Pagasse*, a Thessalian city taken by Philip during the war with Lycophron the tyrant of Thessaly, Ol. 106, 4. We may conclude from this passage that the Athenians, at the commencement of Philip's conquests, made some attempts to succour those cities, which were partially occupied by Athenian garrisons; but that they either went no further than the intention, or were too tardy in their preparations to be of any service.” J. || τίς . . φύλῆς, sc. *ἥραι*. || χορτὺς ἡ γυμναστάρχος. “*The CHORECI were persons nominated out of each tribe, to defray the expenses attendant on the bringing out of the choruses, as well as to superintend the representation. These choral performances were not necessarily connected with Tragedy or Comedy, but were sometimes exhibited by themselves on solemn occasions. The GYMNASIARCHS, who were also selected from the tribes, were charged with the superintendance of the gymnasia and the arrangement of the games customary at some of the festivals, the Panathenæa for instance.*” J. [Handb. Gr. Antiqq. 163] || τίνα λαβόντα (sc. αὐτὸν) τι δεῖ π. 2, 25. F. || ἡμεληταὶ = *is negligently left.* || ἄμα . . καὶ, simul atque aliquid audiūtūs, trierarchos constitūtūs, sc. ἐπειδὲν πυθώμεθά τι γιγνόμενον, τηνικαῦτα παρασκευαζόμεθα (8, 11). Cf. 23, 209, ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲ μᾶς ἡμέρας ἐφόδια ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, ἀλλ' ἄμα δεῖ τι ποιεῖν καὶ πόθεν οὐκ ἔχετε. F. Cf. Gr. 1447, b. || τραπ. καθίσταμεν. “*TRIERARCHS. See Böckh, Ec. of Ath. p. 541.* It would appear from this passage, that those who were required to club together for the equipment of a trireme were not nominated until the fleet was actually wanted, and that in consequence of this practice great delay and inconvenience were occasioned by the hearing of appeals from those who considered themselves too highly rated, or who desired an exchange (*ἀντίδοσις*). A less clumsy arrangement was afterwards adopted by the advice of Demosthenes.” J. [See Handb. Gr. Antiqq. 165.] || τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις, κ.τ.λ. “*disputes about the Assessment.* To prevent the wealthy citizens from excusing themselves on the plea of poverty from bearing their full share of the public burdens, it was enacted, in the time of Solon, that any person nominated to fill the office of trierarch, chorégus, &c., might inform against any other

(P. citizen, whom he believed to be richer than himself, and demand  
7). that the person thus denounced should either take the office in his  
stead, or exchange properties with him. We may well imagine what  
a source of litigation such a law as this must have been, and how  
injurious the practice was to the public service. See Böckh, Econ.  
580 sq. and 674." [Handbk. Gr. Antiq. 164, A.]

## PAGE 8.

▲ **μυθαίνειν.** On *pres. inf.* cf. Gr. 1092 (831, b).—On the μέτοικοι, or resident-alien, cf. Handbk. Gr. Ant. 89; and on their non-exemption from military service, 147, A. || θοξεῖ, *aor.*, as denoting a truth of general experience. Gr. 752 (604) § 402, 1. || τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκουντας, the independent freedmen: the freedmen who had quitted their former masters' household, and set up for themselves: οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι ταῦθ' αὐτοὺς φέουσι, χωρὶς τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων. (*Harpoc.*) So also Anecd. Bekk. i. p. 316. That χωρὶς οἰκεῖν signifies to keep house for oneself, may be proved from various passages of our orator. (See Schæf. Ind. Verbor. v. χωρὶς.) Valesius imagines that they were either the inhabitants of the rural districts (*τοὺς χωρίτας*), or the foreigners resident at Athens, a view adopted by Leland. || εἴτε αὐτοὺς πάλιν, then again (you vote) that you should embark yourselves. || ἀντεμβιβάζειν = to put others on board instead of yourselves (εμβιβάζειν trans., as *factitive* or *causative* of εμβαίνειν) = to substitute others. || μελλεῖται. So Xen. An. 3, 1, 47. and Th. 5, 111: ὁμῶν τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπιζόμενα μελλεῖται. K.—On τό as demonstrat. pron. before a rel. clause, cf. Gr. 699, 6 (562, 6) § 444, c. || οἱ δὲ τὸν . . εἰρωνεῖαν. Liv. 31, 48: *non exspectare belli tempora moras et dilationes imperatorum* (Wst.).—εἰρωνεία, excuses, evasions, properly of those who dissemble their *actual ability* to do what is required. So above. || τὸν μεραρχὸν χρόνον, in the intervening time, i. e. while you are collecting a larger force. Your notion that this force, which is already on foot, will at all events suffice to check the advance of Philip, is proved by the test of actual trial, when the time of action comes, to be vain and delusive. || οὖσαι . . ἑξελέγχονται, Gr. 1110, column 2 (849) § 684, 2. JN. ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἑξελέγχονται. Cf. 18, 21, τούτων τοιούτων ὅντων καὶ ἵπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας δεικνυμένων. F.—"By the 'resources' on which they had reckoned, but which had fallen short of their anticipations, I would understand the ways and means which they had voted in their first eagerness, without deducting any thing on account of the manifold difficulties and deficiencies which, as he had already shown, were sure to arise. The connexion is: 'All these circumstances have rendered the king so insolent, that he,' &c. &c." J.

## § 10. [§ 38, p. 51.]

10 **ΕΠΙΣΤΟΑΑΙ.** "It is much to be regretted that the letter to the  
B Euboeans has been lost; for it would, in all probability, have thrown  
some light on the historical difficulties of this oration. From the  
little which Demosthenes says on the subject, we gather that it con-

tained many remarks exceedingly unpalatable to the Athenians, (p. which were probably introduced by Philip in the hope of producing 8). a rupture between the islanders and Athens, and fomenting the party spirit which already existed among the inhabitants. (Diodor. xvi. 7.) That this policy had been successful in other cities, where the friends of Philip were all-powerful, and were supported in their usurped authority by Macedonian mercenaries, is evident from the fact, that in Ol. 106, 3 (see Böckh's Econ. pt. ii. p. 111, note 378) the tyrant of Eretria applied to Athens for assistance against the Macedonian party, which had gained the ascendency in that city. (Plut. Vit. Phoc. c. 12)" J. || ὡς οὐδὲ are parenthetical. || οὐδὲ μὴν ἀλλ'. Gr. 1444, δια. (1053, a) § 774, 6. || ἀκούειν. Gr. 1044 (809) § 667, a. || καὶ τὰ πράγματα ὑπερβ. "Si quis, quae dicendo transierit, ea ipsa transierit (h. e. efficerit, ut nihil habeant molesti)." Pro eo autem, quod quis expectaverit raustra καὶ τῷ ὄντι ὑπερβήσεται, paullo quidem insolentius καὶ τὰ πράγματα ὑπερβ. posuit, ac si antea non δυτα ἀν τις, κ.τ.λ., sed ἀλλ' τις, κ.τ.λ. dixisset, sed effecit tamen, ut res (facta) et verba gravius inter se opponerentur. De re cf. 3, 18, 9, 4." F., who, in his former ed., had considered with most editors ὑπερβήσεται as intrans.—τὰ πρ. ὑπερβ., the things themselves shall pass away, i. e. if the disagreeable events anticipated will not really happen, because an orator avoids alluding to them. || φενακίζειν. Gr. Syn. 80. || διανύοντες, ourselves, or (possibly) one another. Gr. 1009 (791) § 654, 2. || οὐδὲ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασι, not to follow events, i. e. not to make temporary provisions from time to time, as suggested by one unfortunate event and another, but to make preparations for the future, so as to be able to take advantage of favorable opportunities and circumstances. C. Cf. Liv. 9, 18: *At hercule reges, non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temporumque, trahunt consilii cuncta, non sequuntur.* || ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι, to be beforehand with, to anticipate. In its simple local sense the phrase occurs Xen. An. 5, 6, 9: πολεμίων πολλῶν μὲν ἐμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὅπισθεν ἐπομένων. Sch. || τῶν πράγματ, sc. ἥγεσθαι. Cic. pro Balbo 4, 9: *quum etiam ipsæ casus eventusque rerum non duces, sed comites ejus consiliorum fuerit.* F. || τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διατερε, (in the same way as ==) just as.

οὕτω καὶ. Gr. 1476, k, § 761. || ἐκείνοις, sc. τοῖς βουλευομένοις, c. though that is the nearer (not the more remote) notion. Cf. Gr. 1016 (795) § 655, 7. || τὰ συμβάτα, causas eventusque gerunt. F. || τὰ συμβάτα . . . διώκειν, i. q. δόπισθεν εἶναι τῶν πράγματων, sc. ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν. Cf. Hdt. 7, 49: μάθε, ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρχοντι, καὶ οὐκὶ ἀνθρωποι τῶν συμφορῶν. F. || πλείστην δύναμιν. 24, 216: ἵσθ' δ τι κωλύει τὴν πόλιν μεγίστην εἶναι; οὐ τριήρεις, ὅσας οὐδεμία πόλις Ἑλληνίς, κέετηται; οὐχ ὁπλίτας; οὐ προσόδους; οὐ τόπους; οὐ λιμένας; 14, 13: ὁρῶν ὑμῖν χιλίους μὲν ιππέας, ὁπλίτας δὲ δύος ἀν ιθίλη τις, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας. ib. 30: ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ τῆς χώρας τίμημα ὑπάρχον ἀφορμὴν ἔξακιογύλια τάλαντα ἀκούσεται. Sp. || εἰς δέον τι. Cf. Ol. 3, 28: πλείω δὲ ἡ χῆλα καὶ πεντηκόσια τάλαντα ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν διον. Ibid. || οὐδὲν δ', κ.τ.λ. "Nihil reliquum facitis, quin, ut bar-

(P. *bari luctantur, sic cum Philippo bellum geratis.* Cf. Plat. Phaed. 8). p. 69, D : ὃν δὴ καὶ ἔγωγε—οὐδὲν ἀπέλιτον—γενίσθαι.” Sp. Thuc. 7, 70, 4 : βραχὺ γὰρ ἀπέλιπον (i. e. δλίγον ἰδίησαν) ξυναμφότεραι διασώσαι γενίσθαι. F. || οἱ Βάρβαροι is considered by most modern commentators in the secondary sense of those who have not learnt boxing. I cannot but think that the passage has much more spirit, if we consider that this unskilful boxing was, with the Greeks, who were so generally trained in gymnastic exercises, a standing joke against the barbarians: just as an *Englishman* might laugh at a *Frenchman* or other foreigner. [τοὺς γὰρ Βάρβαροις διὰ τὰς τυραννίδας αἰσχρὸν τοῦτο γε, καὶ ἡ γε φιλοσοφία καὶ ἡ φιλογυμναστία. Pl. Conv. 182, B. Wst.] Wolf quotes an illustration from *unskillful boxing*, Aristot. Met. i. cap. iv. vol. viii. p. 10, lin. 21. Sylb. : ἀμυδρῶς καὶ οὐδὲν σαφῶς, ἀλλ' οὐν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οἱ ἀγύμναστοι ποιοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἑκίνοι περιφερόμενοι τύπτονται πολλάκις καλάς τληγάδες, ἀλλ' οὐτε ἑκίνοι ἀπὸ ἐπιστήμης, οὐτε οὐτοὶ (οἱ πάλαι φιλοσοφήσαντες) κοίσαντι εἰδόσι λέγειν ἀ λέγουσι.—Gellius (Noct. Att. 13, 27) quotes from Panætius, a comparison between a *prudent* politician and a *wary, skillful boxer* : “Vita, inquit, hominum, qui se tatem in medio rerum agunt, ac sibi suisque esse usui volunt negotia periculaque ex improviso assidua et prope quotidiana fert, ad ea cavenda ac declinanda perinde esse oportet animo semper prompto atque intento, ut sunt Athletarum, qui pancratiae vocantur. Nam siuti illuc,” and so on. || τῆς πληρῆς ἔχεται, *clings to the blows*, i. e. immediately moves his arms to the place struck. On gen. cf. Gr. 860, p. 167, foot of first col. (670) § 536. || ἑκεῖσθαι εἰστιν (= illuc) is used rather than ἑκεῖ, because motion towards the part in question is implied: = there go his hands. Poeta apud Plut. de garrul. p. 513, E: ὅπον τις ἀλγεῖ κεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχει. Sp. || προβάλλεσθαι, sc. τὰς χεῖρας = to defend himself; to ward off the blow. Xen. Cym. ii. 3, 10 (Pheraulas is speaking): ‘Ἐγὼ ἵκε παιδίον εἴθες προβάλλεσθαι ἡ πιστάμην πρὸ τούτων, ὃ τι φόμην πληγήσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

D συμπαραθέντε, ἄνω κάτω, i.e. you run up and down by his side, that is, wherever he marches you take a parallel course.—ἄνω κάτω. So with καὶ—καὶ or τε καὶ (in Ol. 2, § 6, p. 10, D, of my ed.), where Rauchenstein's opinion is given, that the conjunctions are omitted in the more vehement and spirited passages; and Funkhænel's, that the omission belongs to the language of common life. I prefer the former solution. || στρατηγεῖσθε—ὑπ’ ἑκείνου, because, since you march, as it were, at his bidding, you depend upon him for orders, and so make him, in fact, your general. || πρὸ τῶν πραιγάτων is further explained by πρὶν ἀν . . πύθησθε (*priusquam . . auditeritis*). Gr. 1273 (934) § 848, 2, 4. || ἥκει, used impersonally, or rather with reference to such an indefinite subject as our “it has come,” “things have come.” || ἀκμῇ = critical point; crisis (discrimen). || ἔγχωρεῖ, sc. ταῦτα.

*νοε, ἵτε quod plus est (plura) affectans.* Cf. Soph. CEd. C. 36 : πρὶν (P. νῦν τὰ πλεῖον' ιστορεῖν. F. || ἐκκαλέσωμ', may provoke (which is 9). exactly ἐκκαλέν) you; *may provoke your indignation, and call you forth from your lazy inactivity.* Cf. Aesch. 2, 3 : τὴν ὑμετέραν δργήτην ἐκκαλέσασθα. F. || εἴτε, if that is; implying ironically that there is some doubt whether his assumption is correct or not. Gr. 1464, note (1053, e) § 734, 3. || ἀπεγνώναι = to have given up all hope; *to have given up every thing in despair.* || τὴν μὲν ἀρχήν, from OL 105, 3. F.

**ἀλεπίδες.** Cf. τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βίηματος ἀλεπίδας, below, c. With respect to the order, cf. Or. 51, 19 : ὥστ' οἰονται, τὸν ἀπαξ εἰρηκότα ἀν καλῶσιν ἀναπλ., σφάς αὐτῷς πάντα τὸν βίου καλούς κάγαθος νομίζουσιν. F. || ἄρετο τις, "inquit (v. Bentl. ad Hor. Sat. 1, 4, 78.) Demosthenes fingit aliquem sic interrogasse, sive in ipsa contione, sive antea in familiari de eadem re sermone. Cf. ad § 10." F. || εἰρήσαντα, cf. 2, 21. *Aperiet et rodebat contexta et tumescensia vici- cissim partibus undara bellum ipsam.* Tac. Hist. 2, 77. F. || οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ γάρ τι. Cf. 6, 24. 9, 75. 22, 39 : δίκην οὐδεὶς οὐδεμίαν μὴ δῷ. 28, 179 : διτὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδέν μὴ δυνηθῆ πρότερον λέσσαι. F. Gr. 797 (633) § 748.

τῆς πόλεως, i.e. *στρατιωτῶν* οἰστίων (B) or τῆς πολιτικῆς δυνά- c μεως. F. || καν μὴ τάσσα, sc. ἀποσταλῆ. F. || οὐμούν, sc. έστιν αὐτῇ (τῷ πόλει). F. || φύσισμα πεντόν, "i. e. decretos non item conscriptos milites (īna ἄνδρα just below)." F. || ἀπὸ τοῦ β. Cf. v. Andoc. 1, 150 : μὴ τοίνυν μήθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷς τὸν ἀπὸ ἱμοῦ ἐλπίδων ἀποστε- ρήσῃτε μήτ' ἐμὲ τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς. F. || τεθνάσι τῷ δέου (die of fear), here takes irregularly an accusative case, as if the virtual meaning (= are excessively afraid of) had been expressed by a trans. verb, e. g. ἀπερρεμοῦστα. F. compares 9, 24, 19, 81. ὥστε—τεθνάνας τῷ φόβῳ Θεμβαιον. Soph. CEd. C. 223 : δέος ἰσχετε μηδὲν δέος αὐτῷ. V. addo Polyb. 1, 39, 12 : οὐπεις ἡσαν καταφόβοι τοὺς ἀλε- φαντας. || ἔνα ἄνδρα, i. e. the unhappy general whom you send out without troops. || δυνηθῆναι ποτε, "potuisse impunam de re et facto, ne ἀν desidereta." F. || ἀνεσχέναι, "temere polliceri maxime Chares solebat. Hinc proverbium ortum est: αἱ Χάρηςος ὑπο- σχύστις." F.

ἄλλων ἀπολίθων ξίνων, *wretched soldiers without pay.—ἀπό-* D *μιθῶι means often (Dem. contr. Aristocr. § 154) "paid off," "dis- charged," emeriti, but cannot have that meaning here. "Non ἀθλίων εἰτι ἀπομισθῶι: nam miseri dicuntur eo quod sunt ἀπόμισθοι."* F. || ὑπέρ: "ψεύδεσθαι υπέρ τον μεταρι super aliqua re, etiā raro, tamen non minus recte dicitur, quam ψεύδεσθαι περὶ τον (Xen. Anab. 7, 6, 15) ἐγκαλεῖν περὶ τον, alia." F. || Jn. ἥδιως ψευδόμενοι. || τόχητε, sc. ψευδόμενοι. || τι καὶ, "τι χρὴ προσδοκᾶν qui dicit, in quid expectari, non simul an aliquid expectari debeat, querit, sed qui τι χρὴ καὶ προσδοκᾶν (quid vel expectari oportet: plene: τι χρὴ οὐ μόνον πράγματοι ὑπὲ τον στρατηγοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδοκᾶν); vel τι καὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν (quid vel oportet expectari, i. e. τι οὐ μόνον ἔξεστι πάντα δύναται ἐν τις προσδοκᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρὴ πρ.). in non solum quid, sed etiam an aliquid expectandum sit, querit. Vid.

(P. Herm. ad Vig. p. 837. Weber ad Aristocr. 136." F. Cf. Gr. 1476, n 9). § 760, 2.

§ 11. [§ 47, p. 53.]

11 πῶς. Observe that *πῶς*, "how," is followed, not by an adverb of manner, but by an adv. of time, *ὅταν*. In this way the certainty of the result is more strongly marked; if the orator can but see the day when the Athenians adopt the right political measures, the how will be of comparatively little importance; the right way will be sure to be discovered. F. compares 25, 68: ὁ δὲ ἀναιδῆς τε τίνος ἀνομάσθη τῶν ἀλλων ἀλλ' οὐταν τὰ μῆτρα δύτα μῆτρα γενόμενα ταῦτα τολμῷ λέγειν δι' ἀναισχυντιας; || ὅταν ὑμεῖς—ἀποδεξήστε, i. e. you, the people. || εὐθυνών, the examination of the public accounts. Handbk. Gr. Antiqq. 108. || τῶν στρατηγῶν. Sp. says, that besides *Chares*, who was several times accused (Æsch. 2, 71), Autocles, Cephisodotus, Leosthenes, Callisthenes (Æsch. 2, 30), were thus impeached on capital charges. || κρίνεται περὶ θανάτου, "is called before you to answer for his life" (L.), opp. ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου, to hazard his life in the field. Cf. Æsch. 2, 165: τῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κρίνοντι Φορμίωνα. Xen. Hell. 7, 3, 6: ἡμεῖς τοντονούσι—διώκομεν περὶ θανάτου. F. || ἰχθρούς: "ἰχθρός plerumque ut Latinorum iniuriosus ad sentiendi rationem refertur, nec tamen raro etiam pro πολέμῳ dicitur, quatenus, qui hostes sunt, etiam inimicis animis affecti esse solent." K.

PAGE 10.

▲ ἀνδραποδιστῶν καὶ λαποδυτῶν, kidnappers and cutpurses. Cf. 9, 22. Xen. Mem. 1, 2, 62: κατὰ γάρ τοδε νόμους ἔαν τις φανερὸς γίνηται κλέπτων η λαποδυτῶν η βαλαντιορομῶν η τοιχωρυχῶν η ἀνδραποδιζόμενος η λεποσυλῶν, τούτοις θάνατος ἐστιν η ζημία. F. || περιέντες. See § 2, note. || μετά, in conjunction with. The Thebans were envied and hated, both by the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, on account of the great military pre-eminence which they had enjoyed since the battle of Leuctra (see De Cor. § 18, note). The prospect of their destruction, then, even by Philip, must have been a matter of interest to the Athenians, especially as it promised to give him occupation for some time. C. || πολιτείας. The verb, *proper*, to denote democratical states or constitutions. i. § 5. || διαστῶν [dpt. on *φασί*, not on *πράττειν*. F.], to tear asunder, annihilate, i. e. in order to establish in their place either monarchical or oligarchical governments. C. || εἰς 8 . . . εἰς 84. The proper predicate is not expressed. The orator breaks off suddenly at last, and changes the construction. But the predicate is contained in πλάγγοντες . . . περιερχόμεθα. C. || ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς. Possibly these rumours were spread by Philip's friends, to persuade the Athenians that his views and schemes were removed to a great distance from Athens. L. || τειχίζειν, Philip, before he attacked Olynthus, "per regna mitit et opulentissimas civitates, qui opinionem seruerent regem Philippum magna pecunia locare et muros per civitates et fana et templo facienda, et ut per praepones susceptores sollicitarent. Qui quum in Mace-

*dōniām veniſſent, variis dilatationibꝫ fruſtrati vim regiae maiestatis timentes, (P. taciti proficiſcebanſtur.) Justin 8, 3, 7, ſqq. F. || λόγους πλάττον· 10). τε ἔκποτος, framing our ſeveral tales. L. See De Cor. § 121. || μεθόν, to be intoxicatet; οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ οἴνου τὸ μεθόν λέγοντιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκλῶς ὑβρίζειν καὶ μὴ ὕδειν ſuφρονεῖν ὑπό τινος τυχὸν ἔξουſias ἡ πλούſou η τοιούτου τινὸς ἀλλον, Thom. Mag. Cf. ad Hor. Carm. 1, 37, 12: “Quidlibet impotens sperare fortunâque dulci ebris Cleopatra.” F. || διναιροτολεῖν κοινὸν γάρ ἰστι τῶν μεθύντων τὸ διναιροτολεῖν. Herm. F.*

τὴν τ' ἔρημαν, 3, 27. || οὐ μάντοι γε, “*κονταῖνεν certi, sc. οἷμα.*” B Cf. ad 3, 2. Dicitur etiam οὐ μάντοι—γε, ubi γε ad præcedens vocabulum pertinet (*Herm. ad Vig. p. 842*): καὶ διέφειρεν, οὐ μάντοι πᾶσάν γε 21, 16. Cf. 55, 24. *Herbst. ad Xen. Sympos. 6, 10.*” F. || προαιρεῖσθαι, sibi proponere adere. F. || ἀδόκτητος ταῦτ', missis his (F.), i. e. the rumoured intentions of Philip. || ἐκεῖνο here relates to what follows (like illc). 19, 68: ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ίδιον—έπειχημα. τὸ ποῖον; τὸ, κ.τ.λ. || ἀνοστερᾶι, i. e. pergit nostra rapere. F. || τινα, as Charidēmus of Oreos. || καθ' ἡμῶν εὑρηται, “sc. πράξας 25, 7: δι μηδεὶς μὲν δὲ αὐτὸς πειποιήναι φῆσεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ψήφοις υἱερθῆσται, sc. πειποιητῶς. Verba ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν ita posuit, ut, quantopere decepti essent, magis attenderent.” F. || ἄν = penes.

ἔσθιμα δύγκω. Gr. 762 (610) § 375, 4. || οὐ γάρ—σκοτεῖν, c depends upon ourselves; is in our own hands, like the λογοτοιοῦντες.

### § 12.

Ἔγὼ μάν. “Tacite opponit alios oratores. V. ad 3, 8. Similiter 12 Nicias apud Thuc. 6, 9, 2: οὗτε ἐν τῷ πρότερον χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ προτιμᾶσθαι εἴπον παρὰ γνώμην οὔτε νῦν, ἀλλ' ὃ ἀν γιγνώσκω βέλτιστα, ἔρω.” F. || ὑποστειλ. 1, 16. || ἐπ' ἀδηλοῖς οὖσι τοῖς—γενησομένοις, i. q. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδηλίᾳ τῶν—γενησομένων, ‘uncertain as is the consequence with respect to me.’ L. The ἐπὶ denotes the condition under which he spoke. || ἐπὶ τῷ . . . πεπεισθαι, quia persuasus sum.—JN. αἱροῦμαι λέγειν.

INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
ORATIO DE PACE.

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THE conquest of Olynthus and the Chalcidic cities, which had placed at the disposal of Philip a line of fortresses along the whole of his southern frontier, and connected his dominions with the sea on that side, was an important step towards the acquisition of that Hegemony, which had so long been the object of his ambition. For its full attainment two things were necessary. In the first place, the occupation of the passes which led into Southern Greece ; and, secondly, the possession of the Hellespont and the Thracian Chersonese. In both cases the principal obstacle in his way was Athens. At an earlier period (Ol. 107, 1) an attempt to penetrate the passes had been foiled by the Athenians in conjunction with the Phocians ; and with regard to the Chersonese, they were bound by treaties with Kersobleptes, its actual possessor, and still more by their own commercial interests, to resist the occupation of that country by a hostile power. Philip, who was well aware of this, adopted the course best calculated to disarm suspicion. Day after day Athenian citizens, and others who had visited the Macedonian court, recounted the acts of kindness which they had received at his hands, and spoke with enthusiasm of the friendly disposition which he had exhibited towards the people of Athens. The result of these exertions on the part of Philip's friends was not slow in developing itself. In the first year of the 108th Olympiad it was proposed by Philocrates that permission should be granted to Philip to send ambassadors to Athens for the purpose of negotiating a peace ; and the next year the Athenians themselves despatched a commission to the court of Macedonia, with full powers to propose such an arrangement. The commissioners were Philocrates, the proposer of the measure, Aeschines, Demosthenes, and seven others. They were received with the utmost kindness, and heard from Philip's own mouth the expression of his anxious wish that peace should be concluded as soon as possible, and his promise that ambassadors should be immediately despatched to Athens for that purpose. The commissioners then returned to Athens, and were soon followed by the Macedonian embassy : peace was concluded, and a second commission despatched to

Macedonia to receive the king's oath. Whilst these men, in defiance of the orders received from the Athenian government, were loitering on the road, Philip attacked and overthrew Kersobleptes, took possession of some strong places in the Chersonese, and forcibly detained the commissioners until all his preparations were completed for a campaign against the Phocians. An account of his subsequent proceedings will be found in the third Philippic Oration and the *Oratio de Corona*. The enterprise against Phocis, which had been carried into effect so rapidly, that the news of its complete success reached Athens at the same time as the intelligence of the conclusion of peace at Pheræ, was gratefully acknowledged by a decree of the Amphictyonic council. The Phocians were excluded from the confederation as sacrilegious robbers, their cities depopulated, and all their privileges transferred to the conqueror, as a reward for his exertions in the cause of religion. The news of these unexpected occurrences filled the Athenians with consternation. An immediate invasion was apprehended, and measures adopted for a determined resistance; but no sooner was this apprehension removed, than they contented themselves with offering an asylum to the exiled Phocians. Meanwhile Philip, who had assumed his place in the Amphictyonic council (Ol. 108, 3), had been elected president, and in that capacity superintended the Pythian games as Agonothete. By way of protest against this proceeding, Athens refused to send representatives to the meeting. About this time ambassadors arrived at Athens from Macedonia, with an invitation to the people to pass a resolution to the effect that Philip was duly elected a MEMBER OF THE AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL. The fate of the Phocians, the approach of a Macedonian army, and the well-known sentiments and increasing power of the Thebans, were so many arguments in favour of the proposal, which was supported by Demosthenes and others. In this oration Demosthenes, after reminding the people of several other occasions on which his predictions had been verified by the event, proceeds to demonstrate, by an induction of present particulars, the absolute necessity of avoiding at this crisis a collision with the other states of Greece. The circumstances under which this oration was delivered are alluded to in the *Oratio de Corona*, where the orator says, "After the defeat of the Phocians the Thessalians and Thebans looked on Philip as their friend, their benefactor, their preserver. He was their all in all; not a word would they hear against him. You, it is true, beheld all this with feelings of disgust; but you stood alone, and, following the only course open to you, concluded a peace with Philip." There can be no doubt, although we have no positive evidence of the fact, that the advice of Demosthenes was followed, and no opposition offered to the admission of Philip into the Amphictyonic confederation. The present oration was delivered, according to Dionysius, in the third year of the 108th Olympiad [perhaps in August, Wst.]. These words evidently refer to an oration which was actually spoken, although Libanius, in his Introduction, says that "it was written by Demosthenes, but never, I think, delivered; for one of the principal accusa-

tions which he brings against Æschines is, that he had counselled the admission of Philip into the confederation, a charge which he never would have preferred, if he had himself given the same advice." The passage to which Libanius refers, is in the *Oratio de Falsa Leg.*, and is quite reconcileable with what he says in the Oration now under consideration. In order to prove that Æschines, in this instance, was not a dupe, but a traitor, he asserts that no steps whatever have been taken by him to expose the treachery of Philip, of which he was fully aware. "Nor is this, he adds, the only instance of his baseness. On a recent occasion there came Thessalians to Athens, accompanied by Macedonian ambassadors, who invited you to pass a decree sanctioning the admission of Philip into the Amphictyonic confederation. Now who, of all men in the world, was most bound to resist this application? Why this Æschines, who now stands before you. Wherefore? Because Philip's actions have been the very opposite to all that Æschines had taught you to expect. He told you that the walls of Thespiae and Plateæ were to be repaired, the Phocians spared, and the pride of Thebes humbled. Instead of this, the power of the Thebans has been augmented by Philip, the walls of Thespiae and Plateæ remain in ruins, and the Orchomenians and Coroneans have been reduced to the condition of slaves. Can any thing then be more contradictory than Philip's actions and his professions? Yet Æschines uttered not a word of disapprobation. Nay, worse than this, he alone, of all the men in the city, supported the proposal of the ambassadors, and did that which even the infamous Philocrates was ashamed to do. And when his voice was drowned in the murmurs of the indignant citizens, he leaped down from the tribune, and shouted out (in the hearing of Philip's ambassadors), There are grumblers enough now; but few of them, when the time comes, will be ready to take up arms." The object of Demosthenes here is to establish the fact, that Æschines has sold himself to the king, and in proof of this he brings forward the circumstances of his having offered no opposition to the proposal of the Macedonian ambassadors: not that this was in itself a crime, but because his conduct, when the treachery of Philip was disclosed by the ambassadors, was sufficient evidence of his own guilty knowledge; for if he had been the dupe of Philip, instead of his creature, he would surely never have supported one who had already proved so faithless. Leland and Auger, who are also of opinion that this oration was actually delivered, meet the doubts of Libanius by the very judicious remark, that Demosthenes did not advise the Athenians to recognize the election of Philip as valid, but simply implored them not to offer an unavailing opposition.

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## NOTES

### TO THE ORATIO DE PACE.

PAGE 11, § 1. [§ 1, p. 57.]

δρῶ μέν, opp. οὐδὲ μήν ἀλλά, near the end of A. || θυσιαλίαν δχαῖς, (P. cf. π. on δυσκόλοιν just below.—έχειν = to involve. || προέσθαι, sc. 11). ήμᾶς, καὶ let go, are attended with, and have flung away, i.e. have lost 1 by our negligence (al. προέσθαι, per incuriam amissa esse perf.). A || προύργην = πρὸ ἔργου, implying furtherance or progress with a task; hence = ‘of use.’ Arist. Met. cap. 7, § 6, ἵστι γάρ τι πρὸ ἔργου πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας στέψιν (i.q. est pro opere, opera pretium est, utile est, confort). So πρὸ ὅδοῦ, Luc. Herm. cap. 1, vol. i., ἀπὸ στονδαιὸν τι πράττων καὶ δ πρὸ ὁδοῦ σοι γένοντ' ἀν τις τὰ μαθηματα. V. || ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . ἡγεῖσθαι are made to depend on ὅδε, instead of being opposed to τῷ προέσθαι by the article τῷ repeated: ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἡγεῖσθαι. F. quotes a similar anacoluthou in Dem. Or. 23, 125: εἰ γάρ ἴστι τῷ δογέον τι τοιότον, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μηδὲν ἡδικησάτε πωτεῖτε, σεύτερον δὲ μηδὲν ἀδεῖτε βούληται δυνησομένῳ. || καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ καθ' ἓν, eodem modo ne in ταῖς quidem τι. Sch.—καὶ ταῦτα ἡγεῖσθαι = to think alike; to agree in opinion. ‘Do not in any single point agree in their views of what is expedient.’ || θυσιάλοιν . . . καὶ χαλεπῶν. δύσκολος, prop. perverse, cross-grained; of actions = untoward. F. compares a similar combination, in which an improper is prefixed to a proper term, in Cic. in Caecil. 11: “intelligo, quam scopolos difficultique in loco serer.”

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πρὸ τῶν πρ., prius quam agendum sit. F. || παρὰ τάντα τὸν Α χρέον. The παρὰ properly denotes parallel co-extension; hence during. τι τούτῳ πίπερται παρὰ τάντα = during this, all this

(P. time. || συμβαίνει, pres., because the orator implies that this has been 12). happening all along, and is perpetually happening still. || οἱς = τούτοις ἡ. || τὰ δὲ πράγ. καὶ περὶ ἑτ., ε.τ.λ., “occasiones rerum gerendarum et (eoque s. simulque) ea, de quibus (vel defendendis vel occupandis) deliberatis, perditia.” F. || οὐ μὴ ἀλλά, Gr. 1144, a (1053, a) § 774, 6. || πεπεικός ἐμαυτόν, Gr. 730 (586, c) § 363, 4. || θερψέων, like the Lat. clamor, is a vox media, sometimes denoting clamorous assent, sometimes (as here) clamorous dissent. || ἵνερ πόλεων. On the omission of the article cf. Gr. 673 (543) § 447, obs. || ἔξειν (= that I shall be able) dpt on οἴομαι καὶ πεπεικός ἐμαυτὸν ἀνιστηκα.

B τὰ προειμένα σωθίσεται, “amissa servantur, quum recuperantur.” Cf. 6, 15. 8, 3. 19, 6, δν (καιρὸν) ἐάν τις ἐκὼν καθυφῆ τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ προδῷ, οὐδὲ ἀν διοιῦν ποιῆ πάλιν οἵσις τ' ἔσται σῶσαι. Sch.

## § 2. [§ 4, p. 57.]

2 εἰδός = καίπερ εἰδός. F. || τὸν πάντα λυστελούντων, i. e. is one of the most successful topics. || τοῦς τολμῶσιν, sc. λέγειν περὶ, ε.τ.λ. || δν, Gr. 1110 (843) § 684, ii. || νομίσω . . . δν ὄμησ . . . κρέναι. On aor. inf. cf. Gr. 1087—9 (830) § 405, obs. 2. || ἔνω γάρ. On this *inceptio* (or *explicatio*) γάρ, cf. Pr. Intr. ii. 173. || πρῶτον μέν respondeat v. πάλιν, § 6. F. || ἔπειθοι is 3rd pl. = they were for persuading you ; tried to persuade you. The imperf. *de conatu*. Gr. 770 (603) § 398, 2. He alludes principally, as it would seem, to Midias, the guest-friend of Plutarchus, and opponent of Demosthenes. || Πλουτάρχῳ. “Philip, having landed troops in Eubcea (Ol. 106, 3) for the protection of Clitarchus against Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria, the latter immediately applied to Athens for assistance. Notwithstanding the vehement opposition of Demosthenes (Or. c. Mid.), Phocion was sent with a considerable force (Ol. 106, 4) to the assistance of Plutarchus. On his arrival in Eubcea, the Athenian general found (as we are told by his biographer, Vit. Phocion. c. 12) the island full of traitors ; but, in spite of the vexations and hardships to which his army was exposed, he defeated the enemy at Tamynæ, and expelled Plutarchus from Eretria, probably by way of punishment for some act of treachery of which he had been convicted. Aeschines also (Or. c. Ctes. p. 480) speaks of the treason of the Chalcidians at Tamynæ, but ascribes it to Callias, who had drawn together a body of native and Macedonian troops to oppose the Athenians. On the other hand, Ulpian (notes to the Orat. c. Mid.) asserts that Plutarchus had thrown Athenian soldiers into prison. After the expulsion of this tyrant, the inhabitants of Eretria were divided between Athens and Macedonia ; and, the Macedonian party having obtained the ascendancy, Philip took possession of the city (Or. tert. c. Phil.). The time of these last occurrences cannot be settled with any exactness ; but thus much is certain, that, in Ol. 109, 3, Clitarchus, the tyrant established by Philip (Or. tert. Phil. ; Or. p. Cor.), was engaged in a war with the Athenians, and was expelled from Eubcea. Diodor. 16, 74.” J.

**πρώτος καὶ μόνος**, a common formula : also conversely, cf. 19, 302. (P. καὶ μόνος καὶ πρώτος ἴδιον). || μόνον εὖ (tantum non) = all but. || τινί 12). marks condition = for. || λημματα are generally *low, base gains* (= c *parvi lucelli causā*. Wolf). || τολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα. Gr. 1476, c. § 759, 2. || μετὰ τοῦ, κ.τ.λ. “Proprie : una cum contracto dedecore et acceptis injurie cognovistis horum improbitatem, i. e. cognovistis eam ita, ut simul ignominiam contraheretis cert.” F. || τὸν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρ., “honi-  
sum, qui (quotquot) sunt (vivunt).” F. || τὸν ἐποκριτὴν. “For an account of the actor Neoptolemus, one of the chief originators of the negotiations with Philip, see Dem. Or. de Falsa Leg. 10. Having placed his property in safety, he visited Macedonia, and during his residence there, accidentally, in a song, predicted the death of the king. Diodor. 16, 92 and 93. A saying of his respecting the tragical revolution in the fortunes of Philip is preserved in Stobaeus (Flor. Tit. 98, 70). The notices concerning him in ancient writers have been collected by Leopoldardus, Emendat. ix. 15.” J.

διοικοῦντα Φιλέππων, i. q. πολιτευόμενον ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου (2, 4). F. Δ. Jn. εἰπον (ποτ παρελθόν) εἰς ὑμᾶς. So 24, 47 : οὐκ εἰς τὴν βουλήν, οὐκ εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰπὼν οὐδέπο. Wst. || οὐκέτι, πον γαπ. || οὐδὲ εἰς, “ne unus quidem, οὐδεῖς nullus, οὐχ εἰς non unus sed plures.” Vom. || ἐν Διούρουσ, sc. Ιερῷ, i. e. ἐν τῷ θεατρῷ. F. || τοῦτο γε, σο. διτι—ἐποιήσατο. Gr. 1012 (793, n. 8) § 656, 6, fn. || τὴν . . . ὅφιξιν . . . ἐποιήσατο, i. e. ἀπῆλθεν. F.

## PAGE 13.

τὰς εὐπορίας, “*opus suas*. 20, 26 : τὰς εὐπορίας, διε—εὐπορήσειν Λ οὐτοι φέσονσιν.” F. || ἀδειας, sc. τοῦ ἔξαργυρίζειν, κ.τ.λ. “quum primum autem facta pace tuto id facere potuit.” Wolf. || φανέρων ἀφανῆς οὐσία denoted money retained at home, or placed in the hands of a banker : φαν. (= ἔγγειος) οὐσία was “real property,” land, houses, &c. Hence ἀφανίζειν τὴν οὐσίαν = ἔξαργυρίζειν (Æsch. 1, 103). || δέο μέν. “*Duo haec ex iis, quia ego praedicti* (de expeditione in Eubœam suscepta et de Neoptolemi proditione), *quia recte et juste, qualia erant* (i. e. veritati congruenter), *a me declarata sunt, testantur pro orationibus a me habitiis.*” F. || τὸ τρίτον δ'. Jn. τὸ τρίτον δὲ, ἡνίκα—ήκουεν, φανήσομαι—προειπών, as above : πρώτον μὲν, ἡνίκ' ἐπειδον, ἀντείπον. F. || καὶ δή (protenus), at once, immediately. Gr. 1459, b, 2. § 721, d. || τινων, especially Æschines and Philocrates. Cf. 6, 30, 19, 112 : οὐδος (Æschines) μὲν γάρ ἔφη Θεσπίδες καὶ Πλαταιάδες αὐτὸν τετιχεῖν καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκίας οὓς ἀπολέσιν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσειν ὁ δὲ (Philippos) τοὺς μὲν Θηβαίους μείζους η προσῆκε πεποιήκε, τοὺς δὲ Φωκίας ἀρδην ἀπολέκε, καὶ τὰς μὲν Θεσπίδες καὶ Πλαταιάδες οὐ τετείχεις, τὸν δὲ Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν προσεξῆνδρα πόδισται. F. “The occurrences to which these words relate, have been already mentioned in the Introduction. Whilst the Athenian commission, appointed to administer the oath to Philip, were on their way to Macedonia, Philip prosecuted his plans in Thrace, and, after his return, detained the ambassadors until his preparations were completed for an expedition against Phocis. Æschines (Or. de Falsa Leg. p. 283) asserts that’

Phil. Dem.

(P. on this occasion, he did all in his power to dissuade the king from 13), adopting violent measures. Philip, who was accompanied on his march by the Athenian ambassadors, took the oath at Pheræ in Thessaly (Dem. de F. Leg.), excluding, however, the Phocians from the confederacy, on the plea of their having been condemned by a sentence of the Amphictyonic council. At the same time a secret assurance was given to the ambassadors that he would meet the wishes of Athens with reference to Phocis, as soon as it was in his power (Dem. de F. Leg. p. 390, 25). With this assurance, and bearing letters from the king, in which he took on himself the whole blame of the delay, the ambassadors returned to Athens. Considerable excitement having been produced by the intelligence that Philip had advanced as far as the passes, Æschines endeavoured to appease the people by the assurance that the king's intention was simply to humble the Thebans, restore the Boeotian cities, Thespiae and Platææ, to the position which they had formerly occupied, and deliver up Eubœa to the Athenians (Or. de F. Leg. 347; pro Cor. 237, 5; contra Phil. ii. p. 73, 2). It was to no purpose that these assertions were contradicted by Demosthenes—the Athenians were but too ready to listen to the fair words of his rival ; and even the Phocians fell unresistingly into the toils prepared for them by Philip. The following extract from the Or. de Fals. Leg., in which Demosthenes contrasts the faithless promises of his fellow-ambassador with the actual result, will serve to explain the circumstance to which we have alluded : ‘In this manner, and by such arts as these, have unprincipled men brought ruin on the state. Instead of seeing Thespiae and Platææ restored to independence, you receive intelligence of the subjugation of Orchomenus and Coronæa : instead of Thebes being humbled, and her overweening arrogance chastised, the cities of the Phocians, your allies, are laid waste : instead of receiving back Orôpus, you are forced to defend Drymus and the land of Panactus : instead of offering sacrifice, as their fathers did, and collecting funds for the service of the sanctuary, the real Amphictyons are wanderers on the face of the earth, whilst their places are occupied by Macedonians and barbarians, who in former days were deemed utterly unworthy of such an honour.’ J. || οἰκισθῆσθαι. ‘That Thespiae and Platææ were to be repeopled. Thespiae had been razed by the Thebans, under Epaminondas. Platææ had been twice destroyed by them ; once, when Archidamus, king of Sparta, obliged the Plateans to surrender at discretion, in the fifth year of the Peloponnesian war. The Thebans, who were then joined with Lacedæmon, insisted that they should be exterminated. The treaty of Antalcidas restored them ; but this did not last long : for, three years before the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans reduced them to their former wretched state, because they refused to join with them against the Lacedæmonians.’ Tourreil.

B κύρτος, sc. τῶν πραγμάτων : si res in suum arbitrium venissent. F. || διοικεῖν (would exterminate), “dissipaturum, in pagos redacturum.” Wolf. Διοικεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ διαιρέσθαι, ὥστε μὴ ἐν ταῦται πάντας οἰκεῖν, ἀλλὰ χωρίς καὶ κατὰ μέρος. Harpocr. Cf. 19, 325 : ἀντὶ τοῦ τὰς Θήβας ταπεινάς γενέσθαι καὶ περιαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἔβριν καὶ τὸ

φρόνημ' αὐτῶν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων Φωκίων τείχη κατ- (P. εσκάπτετο. Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἡσαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, οἱ διοικισθίντες 13). ὃ π' Αἰσχίνου τῷ λόγῳ. F. || Ορόπους. "Orôpus had been taken from the Athenians in Ol. 103, 3, by Themision, tyrant of Eretria, and afterwards put into the hands of the Thebans. Their common pretensions to this city had often embroiled the two states. Tourreil. || καὶ τοιαύτας δλπ. κ. φεν., these accusatives depend (by *zeugma*) on ὑπισχνομένων. F. Gr. 1398 (1006) § 895, d. || ἐπαχθέντες. ἐπάγεσθαι = adduci ad aliquid (cf. 3, 31, 8, 62), ὑπάγεσθαι, sensim vel insicium duoci (cf. 6, 34). F. || οὐδέν, "nihil, i. e. nulla in re." F. || φανήσομαι = shall be found, i. e. if you recall the particulars of what then took place, i. e. οὗτος αὐτὸς λέγων ἐξηπάτησα οὗτε λεγόντων ἄλλων ἀσίγησα, καὶ οὗτως τίσας ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθῆναι. Rok. || οἴδ' θτι (= I know), a formula parenthetically introduced without affecting the construction. οἴτ' ἀν ὑμεῖς οἴδ' θτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες. Phil 2, 29.

## § 3. [§ 11, p. 59.]

φαίνομαι . . . προορέων, *I manifestly foresaw; it is plain that I 3 foresaw.* || οὐδ' εἰς μίαν, ne in ullam quidem. V. || δεινότητα. "Arist. Eth. Eud. v. 12, sq.: η δεινότης ἐστι τοιαύη, ὅπε τὰ πρός τὸν ὑποτεθέντα σκοπὸν συντείνοντα δύνασθαι ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ τυγχάνειν αὐτῶν. Plat. Def. p. 413: Δεινότης διάθεσις, καθ' ήν ὁ ἔχων στοχαστικός ἐστι τοῦ ιδίου τίτους. Inde δεινότης ssepe est eloquentia absoluta, cui nemo non parcat." V.

ἀλαζονελαν, arrogant assumption. "Verbum ἀλαζονεία proprium c. i. q. sibi simulatione aliiquid vindicare. Platon. Def. p. 416: 'Ἀλαζονεία' έξι προστοιητική ἀγαθοῦ η ἀγαθῶν τῶν μη ὑπαρχόντων. Εἰρωνεία proprie dicitur, i. q. sibi aliiquid tribuere dissimulatione." V. || ἐπανολων, (referam) shall ascribe. || πλὴν δι' . . δύο. "Nisi ob duas causas, quas vobis exponam." Wolf. "Sed id potius sic dicendum erat: πλὴν δι' ἀντίν έρω δύο, sive non admissa attractione πλὴν διά δύο, οὐδινὲ ίρω. Nunc hoc dicit orator: nisi ob (ea) quaecunque vobis dicam, quae duo sunt." F. || ἔτερον δέ, προΐκα, "ne particulam διε desideres, cf. 41, 7 sq.: ξὺ μὲν τοίνυν, ω ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, τοῦτο δεῖτιν —. ἔτερον δέ, ω ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, δύο μὲν μνᾶς ἐμαρτύρησεν, ε.τ.λ." F. || προΐκα, i. e. οὐ δωροδοκῶν. F. || JN. καὶ οὐδεὶς διά ἔχος δεῖξαι οὐδὲν λῆμα προσηρημένον πρὸς τούτοις δι εγώ πεκολίτευμαι = τῇ ἐμῷ πολιτείᾳ, coniunctum cum meā rei publicae administratione. F. Cf. τοῖς τὰ τοιαύτα πολιτευμένοις, 20, 183. "In the Oratio de Cor. Demosthenes declares, still more emphatically, that neither by flattery, nor by splendid promises, has he ever been turned aside from the path of duty." J. || δρθόν, ε.τ.λ. JN. τὸ συμφέρον δι τοι . . . πραγμάτων δρθόν φαίνεται μοι, lit. your interest . . . is seen by me upright, i. e. not warped or distorted by self-interest or by ends. The Lat. translation (*recta in oculos meos incurrit*) is followed literally by Leland: 'your true interest strikes my eye directly.' || δι' αὐτῶν ὑπάρχῃ τῶν πραγμάτων opposed to what private feelings and interests put into the circumstances, or imagine

(P. themselves to see in them. || ἐπὶ θάτερα, on the one side; into one 13). scale, as it were: reason or judgement, λογισμός, or τὸ κρίνειν καὶ λογίζεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, must be supposed to be placed in the other scale. || σύχεται φέρον, sc. τὸν λογισμόν: *judicium hominis abest ut et ad se detraxit.* F.

D δ τοῦτο ποιῆσας = δ προσενέγκας ἀργύριον πρὸς τὸν τῶν πραγμάτων λογισμὸν καὶ διαχειρισμόν. Rok.

## § 4. [§ 13, p. 80.]

4 θπάρχειν . . δεῖν, ought to be secured. || σύνταξιν, tribute, a milder term than φόρος. "Ελεγον ἑκάστους φόρους συντάξεις, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ Ἑλληνες τὸ τῶν φόρων δυνατα. Harpoer. (F.) || ἄλλο, i. q. ἄλλο τι. Cf. 8, 44, 9, 67: ὡς ἀπόπον ποώ, 45, 51. Cf. Mätzn. ad Lyc. 70. ad Din. 2, 15. F. || δύοια τις. Gr. 1027, 1028 (800) § 659, 4. || JN. μὴ γενέσθαι (sc. τὴν εἰρήνην) μᾶλλον εἴχε καιρὸν τοῖς πράγμασι η γεγενημένη λύθηναι νῦν δι ημᾶς. V.—F. reads γεγενημένη. || μᾶλλον εἴχε καιρὸν, c.τ.λ., εἴχε for εἴχεν ἄν. Gr. 790 (632) § 858, 3: *"it were (= would have been) more for the interest of your affairs that it had never been concluded, than that now, when it is concluded, you should infringe it."* Leland. || δι ημᾶς, through you = by your fault. || ἐν ὑπαρχόντων, to be resolved by a conditional clause. || δεύτερον δέ, sc. φημι δεῖν. || δρᾶν δπως μὴ προαξόμεθα [Gr. 1313 (954) § 811], we must be careful not to drive those to extremities, &c. (L.)—δπως μὴ προαξόμεθα, ne producamus, a. propellamus = adducamus. F.

## PAGE 14.

A φάσκοντας . . εἶναι. [Gr. Syn. 310.] "The tumultuous assembling of the Amphictyons (Ol. 108, 3) by Philip, who took care that none but his own partisans should be summoned, was not recognized by the Athenians as a regular convocation of the Amphictyonic body. Neither they nor the Lacedæmonians were represented in the council, and therefore were not bound to admit the validity of the sentence of exclusion passed on their allies the Phocians, or to sanction the admission of Philip into the confederation (Dem. de F. Leg.). It was only the peculiar circumstances of the case which induced Demosthenes in this oration to propose the recognition of Philip as one of the Hellènes." J. || οὐ μὴ μετέχοντι μὴ is used rather than οὐ, because it is used hypothetically as characterizing the ἔγκλημα: but μετέχοντι, not μετέχοντι, because it does not characterize it indefinitely (*any charge of such a kind, that the Argives, &c. have nothing to do with it*), but refers to a particular class of cases and interests, the question of *Amphipolis* and all similar questions with which the Argives have *really* nothing to do. || μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ, don't assail with clamours (*clamorous disapprobation*). This anticipative request is called *προδεόρθωσις*. Cf. 8, 32, 13, 3: καὶ μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃτε ἵφ' ϕ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες κρίνατε. 57, 50: καὶ μοι πρὸς Διός καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς θορυβήσῃ μηδὲ ἵφ' ϕ μέλλω λέγειν

ἀχθεθῆ. *F.* || ιστον ἀπρέβει. Observe the transition from the (P. form of a dependent clause (with ὅτι) to that of a principal sentence; 14). i. e. instead of saying, *not because they are well-disposed to us, &c., but because they know, &c.*, he makes the latter clause a distinct proposition, *but they know.* || εἰ καὶ τόν φυρί τις, si quis et maxime contendit. *F.* || ἀναισθήτους. Cf. 6, 19. 18. 43: οἱ μὲν κατάκτουσι θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναισθήτοι Θερμαῖοι φύλοι τέλευτην σωτήρα τὸν Φιλιππούν ἤγουνται. The stupid dulness of the Boeotians was proverbial. Cf. Pind. Olymp. 6, 151 (89). Hor. Epist. 1, 244." *F.* "At this time the Thebans honoured Philip as their friend, preserver, and benefactor, on account of the important services which he had rendered to their city." *J.* || τοῖς δὲ ἔγαδος ἀφερέτων ἔτερος καθεδεῖται, "the advantage others will lie ready to intercept" (L.).—*ἀφερός* was the combatant in reserve, who was to contend with the victor, wearied with his previous contest. "Auger understands these words of the Lacedaemonians, who anticipated the restoration of their former greatness as a necessary consequence of the humiliation of Thebea. Becker understands them of Philip." *J.*

σένον. Gr. 1495 (1053, a) § 791, obs. || πρόσωπον. "Optativi in haec forma in optimis codicibus et h. l. est et 18, 254. 21, 212. καράθετο 61, 2. Cf. 6, 8, 12." *F.*—πρόσωπον. Bk. προσώπον. Cf. Gr. 445 (360) i. § 269, 4, obs. 4. || εἰς τούτο, i. e. εἰς τὸ πολεμῖν. *F.* || τοῦς βοηθεύοντας. The present participle with the article is occasionally used with reference to the future; thus 42, 15, πολλοὺς ποιῶστε τοὺς καταγελῶντας. Isocr. 8, 139, ὥστ' οὐκ ἀπορήσουμεν, μήδε τὴν καλύτερον τοῦς ἡμαρτάνοντας, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἔξομεν τοῦς ἐργάμοντας καὶ προθίμους συναγαντούριόν τούς. *F.* || ἀν . . . βοηθεῖν. Gr. 1087 (830) § 405, obs. 2. || εἰς τὴν εἰκεῖαν, i. e. into the country of one of the leading states in the war, that of the Thessalians or Athenians. The reference is not to the country of each allied state. || οὐ συνεπιστρεψόμεν. On the οὐ (which strongly opposes the notion affirmed and that denied), cf. Gr. 1168, a. || τούτοις . . . τὸν τρίτον. The οὐτος (and so the following τούτοις) relates to the statement about to be made (οὐκ ἄχρι, ε. g. λ.). Gr. 1011 (793) § 655, 6. || οὐ καὶ φροντίζοντας ἀν τοις. This clause is a *further* (here a *restrictive*) definition of εἰ συμμαχιατ, "the alliances, those, that is, to which a man would attach any importance." He alludes, not to *alliances in general* (as Leland, absurdly enough, translates the passage), but to the *particular alliances* which each of the parties in question had contracted. The passage is a good instance of the kind of tacit reference which καὶ, when thus used, implies. Such alliances as a man (would not merely mention in an enumeration, but) also would think important. || ἕχει τῆς ισης (sc. ποιησε), lit. no state is equally well affected towards either us or the Thebans, that we should both be safe ourselves and rule over other states; that is, no state is equally ready to assist us in attaining both these objects, our own security and sovereign power over other states: on the contrary, if we were to aim at sovereign power over other states, they would not feel that attachment to our cause that they do exhibit when we fight for our own safety.—The infinitives οὐκ τε εἴναι καὶ φροντίζειν τοις ἄλλαις denote, by a loose kind of εργε-

(P. *genesis*, the purposes with reference to which the assistance of the allied states was required. On the deal. of σῶς, cf. Gr. 183 (130) i. § 126, obs. 5. || ὡὐαὶ μὲν εἶναι, sc. τοὺς ἐαυτῶν συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἡ Θη-

βαιοῦς. F. c. κρατήσαντας . . . τοὺς ἔτέρους, “ut supra κρατεῖν τῶν ἀλλων. Ita Thucyd. eodem capite (lib. i. cap. 109) variat structuram, κρατεῖν τῆς Αἰγύπτου et κρατεῖν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους. Beckius contra, ‘τοὺς ἔτέρους non ita accipendum est, ut anteα κρατεῖν τῶν ἀλλων, sed sensus est: nolunt alios [altoros], victoria potitos, eos fieri dominos.’” V. Beck's explanation is to be preferred. So F. || τι οὖν, κ.τ.λ. This form of interrogating himself is common in Dem. || μὴ . . . λαθῃ. Åesch. Prom. 390, τούτου φύλασσον μὴ ποτ' ἀχθευθῆ κέαρ. Id. Suppl. 493, φύλαξαι, μὴ θράσος τίκυ φόβον. Funkh. || δο μελλων π. “Bellum hoc quod agitur.” Wolfius. Dem. does not hesitate to assume the future renewal of the war with Philip. F. || πρὸς απαντας is to be joined to λάθῃ. || Μεγαλοπολῖται. Whilst the Thebans were engaged in the Holy War, the Lacedæmonians were trying to recover their Hegemony. Diod. (16, 34, 39) mentions a battle between them and the Argives and Megalopolitans, aided by the Sicyonians and Messenians. “Lucchesini supposes that Dem. is speaking of the embassy, by which the Athenians sent an offer of assistance to Sparta after the battle of Leuctra (Ol. 104, 2). See Xen. Hist. Gr. vi. 5, 33. It seems, however, probable, that Demosthenes was thinking of some other embassy, which took place at a subsequent period.” J. || διὰ τὴν . . . ἐπι-

κηρυκεῖαν = διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς ἐπικηρυκεῖσθαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, “quia nos cum Lacedæmoniis per processus erimus.” V. Though the verb is common, this is an ἀπακέ λεγόμενον.—Ἐπικηρυκεῖα τὸ περὶ φίλιας καὶ διαλλαγῶν κήρυκας πέμπειν. Harpoor (referring to this passage.) || ἡμῖν depends on ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσιν, but is placed before ἐπικηρυκείαν, to make Λακεδαιμονίους strike the ear more emphatically. F. V. makes it refer to this notion, but also to be (virtually) = a gen.; for which purpose R. would understand οὐσαν or ἵπαρχοντα. || καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν = καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν. || ἐκδέχεσθαι = “aliquid ab altero accipere quod ipse deinde tractandum suscipias,” to take up any thing that they (ἐκεῖν. = the Lacedæmonians) have done; to carry it out, &c. &c.—F. compares ἐκδέχ. λόγον to take up the discourse when another ceases speaking.

d. τοὺς Φωκέων φυγάδας. “Several Boeotian cities (Coronea, Oreohomenus, Corsiae, &c., Diod. 16, 58), which had formed an alliance with Phocis at the first outbreak of the sacred war, in the hope of being thus enabled to make head against the Thebans, were delivered over to Thebes by Philip at the end of the war. Demosthenes, therefore, is here speaking of those unfortunate persons who had sought an asylum at Athens from the vengeance of their enemies. This was permitted by Philip to the inhabitants of Oreohomenus, notwithstanding the opposition of the Thebans and Thessalians. Åeschines de F. Legat.” J. || κωλύομεν = endeavour to prevent, sc. by not sending ambassadors to the Amphictyonic council. F. || ἀγάγωστι. “ἄγειν πόλεμον e rarioribus est. Sch. Ne intellige:

gerant bellum nobiscum ; sed : οὐδεκαντά in nos. Dem. Cor. p. 275, (P. § 143, πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀγγικὴν εἰσάγεις (Var. ἀγεις), Αἰσχίνη, πόλεις 14). μον Ἀμφιεπονικόν.” V. || προστρέμενος: προφασιζόμενος, πρετερεστατος. Dem. c. Timoc. p. 703 sq., τὴν δοκιμήσιν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐργῆς προστρέμενος. V. || ἐπιστραθῶσιν: ἐφελευσθῶσιν (should be drawn on to, &c.). Ulpius. “ Schol. ad Thuc. 4, 9, ἐπιστάσσασθαι: αἴρεσθαι γένετο προθυμησεσθαι. R.” V. || πέρι, beyond, hence virtually against. || πέρι Φοῖβος. “ After the conquest of Phocis, their ancient enemies the Thessalians, so far from being satisfied with the destruction of their cities and the devastation of the whole country (Passan. x. 2, 1. Ζεχίνης de F. Legat. 308), demanded the extirmination of the Phocian race ; and, in order to effect that object, proposed that all the young Phocians should be hurled headlong from the rocks (Ζεχίνης de F. Leg. p. 310). The Amphictyons pronounced sentence of outlawry against the fugitive Phocians, and all others who had taken part in the robbing of the temple. Diodor. 16, 60.” J. || δέσμος, opinio. Gr. 1461 (1053, d) § 724, 2. || οὐδὲ ταῦτα . . . δεσμοδοκότες, did not each of them make the same result the principal object of their actions, though they acted in concert. || εἰσε = as for instance; thus. || παρελθεῖν, sc. θέω Ηὐλαν. It was after his actually passing through the straits of Thermopylae, that he occupied the forts, &c. that commanded it, which are the πάροδος alluded to. || οὐδέ γε, “ nec certe quidem.” Dem. Fals. Leg. 339, οὐδέ γε . . . ιστος οὐστος ἀδικημα. Philip, who came in (as the ἄφεδρος) when the worst of the war was over, gained the glory of terminating it.

## PAGE 15.

**εἰσηχούσα.** “ Besides the loss of reputation, there was obvious a danger to her independence in the course pursued by Thebes in this war : but the immediate advantages were great, and for the sake of these she did not hesitate to impose a disgraceful yoke on herself and the rest of Greece. ‘ They have obtained peace,’ says Demosthenes (de F. Leg. 384, 29), ‘ whilst they were groaning under the burden of war : they have witnessed the ruin of their enemies, and the destruction of the cities which those enemies inhabited, and not only this, but they have obtained possession also of Orchomenus, and Coronæ, and Corsie, and Tilphosseum, and every other district of the land of Phocis on which they had set their hearts.’ ” J. || οὐδέν ἀν . . . εἰναι. The ἀν belongs to εἰναι = οὐδέν ἀν οὐ νικοῖς ἡν ἐκεθύμουν λαβεῖν, “ nihil iis futurum fuisse cidebatur : nihil habitum fuisse putabantur (tum, quam illa acta sunt).” F. || τολμῶσι λέγειν. “ See note, p. 85, A. Besides the hireling friends of Macedonia, there were many persons at Athens, who believed, what they earnestly desired, that Philip’s object was to tame the LEUCTRAN PRIDE (as Diodorus, 16, 58, calls it) of the Thebans. Even Demosthenes himself was for a long time ignorant of the king’s real intentions.” J. || ἔρθεσθαι λέγειν, an ironical form of wishing a person good morning, i.e. of dismissing him as one with whom we do not wish to have any thing to do. Dem. 18, 153, ἔρθεσθαι φάσας πολλὰ Κιφραῖος καὶ Δοκρός. || οὐ μᾶλλον . . . η, “ οὐ μᾶλλον . . . γνωστόν. Lex. Xen. a. v. μᾶλλον Nro. 13.

(P. Thuc. 7, 69, δ μὲν οὐχ ἵκανά μᾶλλον ἡ ἀναγκαῖα νομίσας παργ-  
15). νῆσθαι.” V.

Β τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δοκεῖν, i.e. the glory of the war (the glory, that is) of being thought, &c. The τοῦ δοκεῖν is an exegetical opposition to τοῦ πολέμου. || δι' αὐτόν. “Sua opera (cf. me autem, propter quem ceteri liberi sunt, tibi liberum non eisum demiror. Cic. Fam. 7, 27), infra δι' αὐτοῦ per se, i.e. ipse, ut non essent alii, quo ludos Delphiicos administarentur. V. ad 6, 6.” F. || κρίσις, its decision; properly a medical term: η μὲν κρίσις δένδροπός ἐστιν ἐν νόσῳ μεταβολὴ πρὸς ὑγείαν η θάνατον. Cf. Foës. Econ. Hippocr. || τὰ Πύθια. “For the right of the Amphictyons to the presidency at the Pythian games, see Titmann, p. 109. In the meeting held Ol. 108, 3, this privilege was expressly secured to the king (Diodor. 16, 20), and thus the way was prepared for his elevation (Ol. 110, 3) to the rank of commander-in-chief of the Grecian armies. Cf. the third Orat. c. Phil.” J. || Θεσσαλοί. “The Thessalians, who had been members of the Amphictyonic council from time immemorial, were excluded from the confederation, through the influence of the Phocians, during the sacred war. According to Demosthenes (Or. de F. Leg. 443, 17), the maintenance of this right was the chief cause of their invading Phocis. Aeschines reckons them among the older Amphictyonic states (de F. Leg. 285).” J. || δέ γε, contra. Cf. Pr. Intr. ii. 230. || ἄφ' ἑαυτούς, against themselves, prejudicial to their interests. || τὴν Πυλαίαν, jus Amphictyonicae dignitatis. Wolf. Πυλαία ἐκαλείτο η εἰς τὰς Πύλας σύνοδος τῶν Αμφικτυόνων. Harpoor.” F. || πλεονεκτ. δύοιν, i.e. ἀπέρ (nempe η πυλαία et τὰ διν Δελφοῖς) ἴστι δύο πλεονεκτήματα. F. || τούτο, i. e. ὅπως μὴ προαξόμεθα . . . πρὸς ημᾶς, § 4. F.

### § 5. [§ 24, p. 63.]

5 τὰ κελευόμενα, ε.τ.λ. “ὑποφορά (vid. ad 3, 29): imperata igitur facere  
c nos oportet communis belli metu (ταῦτα φοβ.)! τὰ κελευόμενα (i.q. διν  
κελεύωσιν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες), non τὰ κελευσθέντα, i. e. quae tum jusserant  
Amphictyones ab Atheniensibus rata haberi, dicit, quia, haec ipsa  
ut facerent cives, hac oratione suasit.” F. || προς δέ, i.e. adversus. F.  
Wst. takes it as *adverbial*: = and moreover. || θραστός . . . ὑπομ., au-  
dacter suscipere s. conari. Cf. 6, 11. F. || ἐκείνα, “haec quae sequuntur.”  
F. || κατὰ . . . συνθήκας, according to the terms of the treaty; by treaty.  
Funkh. Cf. 45, 37, ἐμαρτύρησε Νικοκλῆς ἐπιτροπεύσαι κατὰ τὴν  
διαθήκην: coll. § 38, καὶ ἐπιτροπεύσαι μὲν κατὰ διαθήκην οὐδὲν δεινὸν  
ήγειτο μαρτυρεῖν. 43, 34, ὁπότερος τούτων δικαιότερα λέγειν δόξει  
καὶ κατὰ νόμους μᾶλλον. 44, 64, 67, κατὰ νόμον. F. || Καρδιανός.  
“Cardia, between Thrace and the Chersonese, at the mouth of the  
river Melas, was called the key of the Thracian Chersonese, on  
account of its position on the isthmus (Or. c. Aristocr.). In the  
fourth year of Ol. 106, Kersobleptes, whose kingdom was distracted  
by faction, resigned the Chersonese to Athens (Diodor. 16, 34),  
receiving in return the city of Cardia. The Athenians at a later  
period having laid claim to Cardia, the inhabitants of that city con-

tended that they did not belong to the Chersonese, and were supported by Philip in their resistance to the demands of their powerful neighbour. Dem. Orat. de F. Leg." J.

**Κάρα**, i.e. Idrieus, the successor of Mausolus. || καταλαμβάνειν, D "occupare, i.e. occupare conari." F. || κατέγεν τὰ πλοῖα. "Narrigia nostra (τὰ σιραγωγά) deducere, scil. ad oram suam s. in portum suum ut vel vectigal exigant vel praedam faciant. Cf. 8, 9, 28. Kr. ad Xen. Anab. 5, 1, 11. Aliter, 20, 77, Χαβρίας . . . ἀλλας τριήρεις πλίον ἡ εἰκόσιν εἰλε, καὶ μίαν καὶ δύο λαμβάνων, δις ἀπάστας εἰς τῶν ὑμετέρους λιμένας κατήγαγεν. 50, 5, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ τῶν ναυκλήρων περὶ ἐκπλουν δύτων ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, καὶ Βυζαντίων καὶ Χαλεπδονίων καὶ Κυζικηνῶν καταγέντων τὰ πλοῖα ἐνεκα τῆς ἴδιας χρείας τοῦ σίτου. F. || περὶ τῆς ἐν Δ. σκιᾶς. "'The shadow at Delphi,' i.e. the presidency at the games, and the right of first consulting the oracle. The words seem to be an allusion to the proverbial expression, 'to fight for the ass's shadow.'" J.

INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
SECOND PHILIPPIC.

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DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus places this oration next in order to the Oration on the Peace. It was delivered when Lysiscus was Archon, in the first year of the 190th Olympiad, a date which accords perfectly well with the chronology of the historical events mentioned in the course of the speech. The occasion, as we learn from Dionysius (Epist. ad Amm. c. 10), was the arrival of a Peloponnesian and (according to Libanius) a Macedonian embassy at Athens, "whence the ambassadors came," says the latter of these writers, "and with what object, does not appear from the speech itself, but may be easily collected from the history of Philip, who about this time sent an embassy to Athens<sup>1</sup> to complain of a calumnious report which the Athenians had circulated throughout the whole of Greece, to the effect that he had deceived them by fair promises, whereas he had never made any promises at all, and therefore could not have misled any body. About the same time it happened that ambassadors were sent to Athens by the Argives and Messenians to complain of the support afforded by that city to their oppressors, the Lacedæmonians, and the obstacles which the Athenians had thrown in the way of those who were struggling hard for the recovery of their freedom. The Athenians were in a great strait respecting the answer to be given to Philip and the cities; for it was true enough that they favoured the Lacedæmonians and resisted the alliance of the Argives and Messenians with Philip as dangerous to Athenian interests; yet they could not affirm that the proceedings of the Lacedæmonians were justifiable. With regard to the king, they had certainly been disappointed in their expectations, although they were unable to prove that he had himself deceived them, for he had never promised

<sup>1</sup> Lucchesini conjectures that this was the same embassy, of which Demosthenes says (de F. Legat.) that it came to Athens in company with some Thessalians, and demanded the restoration of Philip to the rank of Amphictyonic councillor. But between this embassy and the one here mentioned there was an interval of perhaps two years. The last is, in all probability, the embassy mentioned by Demosthenes in the Oratio de Corona.

them any thing, either by letter or through his ambassadors. The truth was, that the people had been misled by Athenians, who had persuaded them that Philip was about to rescue the Phocians and curb the insolence of Thebes<sup>2</sup>." The history of this period is exceedingly defective and obscure. Attempts, it is true, have been made by Tourrel, Leland, and Auger to weave the unconnected threads into some sort of web; but the narrative, founded, as it is, on mere conjecture, is little better than a historical romance. Instead, therefore, of repeating what they have said, we will content ourselves with a reference to the notices found in Libanius, which agree in all essential particulars with the account given by Dionysius. During this period Philip had probably adopted measures which had occasioned fresh anxiety to the Athenians and their allies; at all events, it is certain that he had been engaged in fomenting those dissensions in Peloponnesus, which he had found so advantageous to his own interests in other parts of Greece. Sparta, so far from having abandoned her old pretensions, was again threatening her neighbours with the yoke of her aristocratic tyranny, against which the Messenians and Argives, in defiance of the warnings of Athens, sought protection in the promises of the Macedonian sovereign. The liberties of Greece were, it is true, threatened by the Thebans in conjunction with Macedonia, and Athens alone possessed the power of resisting their aggressions: but she was also an ally of Lacedæmon; and the Messenians and Argives, looking only to the more imminent danger, loudly demanded that the Athenians should renounce their unnatural connexion with the oppressors of Peloponnesus. Some excuse for this course, impolitic as it was, might be found in the insolence of Sparta, which they could not help contrasting with the magnanimity thus far exhibited by their new ally. Even at Athens there were many who were but too ready to take refuge from anticipations of danger and forced exertion in the pleasing self-deception which attributed to Philip a moderation never yet possessed by any conqueror. With these comfortable politicians were united a band of traitors, purchased by Macedonian gold, who wilfully darkened the cloud in which folly or indolence had shrouded the motives of Philip. The greater part of the oration is directed against these unworthy citizens: but, lest the more honest among them should be misled either by their inveterate prejudice against the Lacedæmonian name, or by the pretended magnanimity on which the oppressed Peloponnesians laid so much stress, Demosthenes unravels, with a skilful hand, the tangled web of Macedonian policy, and satisfies them by incontrovertible proofs that Philip's real object is, and ever has been, the subjugation of Athens. Reminding his hearers of the dignified position which they have always occupied among the nations of Greece, he represents the policy thus far pursued by Philip as a continued act of homage to the principles and the wisdom of the Athenian people. In this masterly sketch

<sup>2</sup> This agrees with what is said respecting an embassy of Philip's in the *Oration pro Hal.*, which was delivered OI. 109, 2.

our orator displays the most remarkable tact as well as eloquence. Whatever the immediate occasion of this oration may have been, it is impossible to misunderstand the general aim of the speaker; which evidently was to convince his countrymen of the discrepancy between Philip's professions and, his actions, and as a necessary consequence, to urge on them the necessity of sacrificing even their personal ease to the promotion of that which they themselves acknowledged to be good and right. With this explanation the plan of the speech becomes perfectly intelligible. His former addresses to the Messenians are cited by Demosthenes, for the purpose of recalling to the minds of his hearers instances of Macedonian perfidy, and thus inducing them to compare the past with the present<sup>3</sup>. The same object is manifested in his proposal, that the orators who had praised the king, and aided him in deceiving the people, should be called to a strict account. This proposal must have revived the recollection of the manifold evils which had resulted from their misplaced confidence, and thus, whilst it promoted the general views of the speaker, would especially have the effect either of silencing the Macedonian party altogether, or at least of forewarning the people, and thus rendering their treasonable attempts comparatively innocuous. What the immediate effect of the present oration was, we have no means of ascertaining with certainty; but it is generally supposed that the impeachment soon afterwards of Philocrates, one of Philip's most strenuous supporters, by Hyperides, was the result of the suggestion with which Demosthenes concludes his speech<sup>4</sup>. That the popular feeling was at this time unfavorable to Philip, is evident from the fact that Philocrates anticipated the sentence of the court by going into voluntary exile. The author of the Biographies of the Ten Orators<sup>5</sup> (generally attributed to Plutarch) relates, that when Philip read these orations of Demosthenes, he exclaimed, "By Zeus! if I had heard him deliver them, I should have been persuaded to go to war with myself." I cannot understand why this remark should be supposed to refer especially to the present speech, since the third Philippic has at least equal claims, and the author speaks of the effect, not of one, but of several orations.

<sup>3</sup> Aquila de Figm. § 9, p. 150. Apostrophe — acutissimum exemplum in Philippicis Demosthenes, ubi quibus verbis populum Atheniensem monitum vult, ea se dicit apud Graecos et Arcadas et Messenios coacionatum invidiisse.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Orat. de Legat.*, which was delivered Ol. 109, 2, Demosthenes mentions this accusation of Philocrates as a recent occurrence. Immediately after-

wards Demosthenes also accuses *Æschines* of a false statement.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. Op. t. ii. p. 845 c. Lucian, or whoever else was the author of the encomium on Demosthenes, informs us that Philip was an admirer of his eloquence and inaccessibility to bribery, and attributes several remarks to the king, which perhaps were not mere inventions of his own.

## NOTES

TO THE

## SECOND PHILIPPIC.

PAGE 16, § 1. [§ 1, p. 65.]

βαζόντες. F. understands *μάρτυρες*: and so Den. repeats the inf. (P. in 21, 11, ἡ οὐδὲ δλλά ὄμοιν τυραννοῖ λαρβασίντων ἡ βαζόρινος (sc. 16). λαρβασίντων). But this is not necessary here, as βαζέσθαι (= violenter 1 agere) may take the acc. of a neut. pronoun or quantitative adj. (βαζέσθαι τι, ταῦλαι, σύδιον, &c.). || *καὶ Σαμιῶν καὶ φιλοθρόνων*, just and *humane*.—“The interest of the nation, that is, of the whole assemblage of the Grecian states, was, professedly, the first great object of regard to every member of every community. This was their most extensive affection. The distinction of Greek and Barbarian precluded the rest of mankind from a just share in their philanthropy. At least, it was not generally considered as a duty, to extend their benevolence further than the boundaries of their nation. These included all that were really considered of the same kind. And hence it is, as I conceive, that the *loss of their countrymen* was called, by the most extensive term, the *loss of mankind*. The word, therefore, in the original (*πληθυρόντων*), which is rendered ‘humane,’ the translator understood as expressive of a regard to the general welfare of Greece.” L. || *φανερώντες* = are evidently; *δοκούντες* = are thought, i.e. seem to the audience. || *αἵ τις διειστήσει*, “prope distinxit.” Gr. 1512, j. § 683, d. || *οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ταῦτα ὡραῖα*. || *ταῦτα διειστήσει*, to listen to those harangues; *ὅψειν* = it is worth while.

PAGE 17.

Ὀρμῆγχι . . . παρεβάντει, should convict him of transgressing. A Gr. 1110 (243) § 634, ii. || *ταῦτα διειστήσει*, plotting against; “harbouring designs against.” L. || *πάντος, εἰ τλ.* This subject has no verb, but is afterwards subdivided into *ὑπὸς εἰ παρεβάντεις* (as who come forward to address you = we the orators), and *ὑπὸς δὲ εἰ παθίσαντεις* (you Phil. Den.

(P. *who sit* on the benches of the Pnyx = *you the members of the assembly*, or *you who listen to us*), each with its verb. These secondary subjects stand in a *partitive apposition* to πάντες. “Because we all,” sc. neglect our duty, or some such notion. || οὐχί, Gr. 1414, i. Observe that this is *our English idiom ‘in actions, not words.’* The Greeks often use ‘but not’ (ἀλλ’ οὐκ), or ‘and not’ (καὶ οὐκ). || δέον, “quum oporeat.” Gr. 1140 (863) § 700, 2. || οἱ παριόντες = οἱ λέγοντες. —Παρελθεῖν, παρίναι = to come forward (to the βῆμα: ἀναστῆναι, to rise to speak in the assembly). || τούτων . . . ἀφίσταμαι, “his abstinētus.” sc. τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν πράξεων.—The infin. γράφειν and συμβουλεύειν are *epexegetical*. Gr. 1051 (812) § 669, γ. The article is omitted, as in Olynth. 3, 12 (see note, top of p. 65), ἀλλως τε καὶ τούτον μάργον μέλλοντος περγίγρεσθαι, παθεῖν ἀδίκως τε κακὸν, κ.τ.λ. = τοῦ παθεῖν, *epexegetical* of τούτου. F. So Plat. Conv. 192, δ, ἀρὰ γε τούτοις ἐπιθυμεῖτε, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γενίσθαι ὅτι μάλιστα ἀλλήλοις. Sp. The omission is common when the pron. is in the nom. or acc.; but rare when it is in gen. or dat. || γράφ. and συμβούλ. were the *actions* in which an Athenian orator (who was also a statesman) could show his activity. || τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπόχθειαν δικούντες, from the fear of incurring your displeasure.—Η πρὸς τινα ἀπίχθεια, “duplicem habet significacionem: subjectivam s. activam, odium, quo aliquam persequor; et objectivam s. passivam, odium, quod est contra me apud aliquid. Utraque significatio in brevi spatio invenitur, Cor. p. 287, § 36, ταῦτα δὲ ἀσμένως τινὲς ἄκονταν διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐπούσαν ἀπόχθειαν πρὸς τὸν Θηβαῖον. Active; passive contra illios, καὶ ἐτι τῷρες τούτοις (sc. συνέδη) τὴν μὲν ἀπόχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαῖον καὶ θεταλοὺς τῷ πόλει γενίσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φελέπτων.” V. || ὡς θεωρά: ὡς = quam. || καὶ . . . ταῦτα, and the like; and all that. || ἕπεται (stra) are usually opposed to πρώτον μέν without δὲ in Dem. K. || ὁτι πάντες εἰν. “Ως si h. l. finalis particula esset, conjunctivi sequi debebant (cf. 7, 29). Sed orator hoc dicit: so modo (quasi eo genere apparatus), quo justas orationes habere possitis, medium Philippo instructi et parati esis, i. e. ad orationes habendas . . . parati esis. B. θέλειοι λέγοι, autem esse orationes dicuntur, quibus iura Atheniensium adversus Philippum defenduntur.” F. For Hermann’s rule cf. Gr. 1912; but with respect to the present passage (considering ὡς a final particle) he says, “Ego quidem, cur in priore membro orationis Optativi positi sint, fateor me non perspicere. In altero autem membro et res ἡπατική et colloccatio particulae Optativum sustinet.” Elmsley denies the occurrence of ὡς finalē with δὲ in Attic writers (ad Soph. Aj. 1217). V. || δέ τις δὲ τοιούτης (W.), quibus insistit. Polyb. 3, 9, 7, ταῖς δρμαῖς ἵψεις ὧν (quibus ducebatur). Dem. in Steph. 1, 1111, § 33, ὅτι ἦν δὲ πατήρ ἴτι τοῦ τραπεζίτεντος, quum rei argenteria studebat. || συμβαίνει δι. The δι, which gives emphasis to the παριόντες, here connects the present statement with the preceding one, as being a necessary and obvious result of it. It may here be rendered by *thus* or *accordingly*. || δι οἱ ἀκάρατοι, κ.τ.λ. An explanatory proposition of this kind is often added *agynditically*. Bernhardy, Synt.-p. 54, N. 98. Plat. Soph.

255, Α. Θ. Ἰσως. Ζ. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὴν κίνησίς γε καὶ στόσος οὐδέ τέτερον (P. οὗτε ταῦτάν εἰσι. Θ. Πῶς; Ζ. Οὐ τε πέρ (i.e. δι, τε πέρ γάρ) διν κοινῇ 17). προστίθωμεν κίνησιν καὶ στάσιν, τοῦτο οὐδέτερον αὐτοῖς οἶν τε εἴναι. Θ. Τί δή; Ζ. Κίνησίς τε (i.e. δι τί κίνησίς τε) στήσεται, ε.τ.λ. (vid. Heind. § 87.) V. || διδιον. Gr. 634 (517) § 376. || ὅπως. On the futures indic. cf. Gr. 1313 (954) § 811. || καὶ μη̄ = καὶ ὅπως μη̄, ε.τ.λ. || (ὅπως) . . . μηδέ ἐκποτῆσται μέγεσσος δυνάμεως, “nece magnitudo copiarum ingrat” (W.), i.e. that we may not be assailed by so formidable a power and such numerous forces.—ἐκποτῆσται, sc. ἡμῖν. Cf. De Cor. 287, τοὺς ἐφεστηκότας κινδύνους τῷ πόλει. V. || οὐδέ ἀντάραι δυνατόδυμα. Bek. Anecd. p. 268, ἀνταίρειν, ἀντα-ιστάσθαι [reniti, resistere], Δημοσθένης. So ἀντήρει, Olynth. 2, p. 28, § 24. V. Cf. Plat. Euthyd. 272, 1, θετε μηδέ διν ίκα αθροῖς οἶν τ' εἴναι μηδέ ἀντάραι. It occurs as a transitive verb in Th. (3, 33), and often in Hdt. Some would supply ἀπλα or χτίρας here; but this is unnecessary (Sp.), though, of course, the intransitive meaning arose from the transitive one, on the principle explained Gr. 720 (578) § 360.

## § 2. [§ 6, p. 67.]

**Φύλωσις.** Isocrates speaks thus of the great power that Philip 2 was in possession of after the peace: *σοὶ δὲ μόνῳ (sc. ἕώρων) πολλήν σε ἔξουσίαν ὑπὸ τῆς τόχης δέδομινην, ε.τ.λ., πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν κεκτημένων, δισην οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, δὲ μόνα τῶν ὄντων καὶ πείθειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι πίεσκεν*, ad Phil. cap. 6, § 18. “Since the termination of the war, and the admission of Philip into the Amphictyonic Council, a Macedonian garrison had occupied Phylæ (Or. Phil. 3). The possession of this fortress secured him access to the rest of Greece.” J. || πάντων δρόμος ἥμεν. The insertion of the δρόμος between πάντων ἥμεν calls attention to the words. Πᾶς and ἥπας are often accompanied by δρόμοις, which may either precede or follow the adjective (K. ad Dion. Hist. 259, note 60). B. || περστότητε. Παροπηκίνα is said of a *fixed opinion*, like “*stat mihi sententia; stat mihi hoc.*” B. || δι’ ἓν, “*per quas rationes sive quibus ductus, ut plenius infra § 8: δι’ οὐ πεισθέντες, sed quod praecedit δι’ οὗ significat propter quas; hujus notio est causa remota, quam respicimus; illud ipsam rem significat, qua uitium ut iastramento.*” V.

οἱ οἱρόντες, used *absolutely*: *those confident persons.* “These words relate to persons who, like Aeschines and Philocrates, had promised, in Philip's name, that the pride of Thebes should be humbled, and many important advantages be secured to the Athenians. Demosthenes returns to the consideration of this subject at the conclusion of his speech.” J. || προσθήσθε, you will join them. προστίθεσθαι, sc. φῆσον, lit. to add one's voice to the votes of others, or to those of a party; hence to assent to a person's opinions, to join his party, &c. Dem. p. 295, § 203, οὐδέ ἡδυνήθη πάποτε τὴν πόλεις οὐδεὶς ἐκ παγῆς τοῦ χρόνου τεῖσαι, τοῖς ισχύουσι μὲν, μη̄ δικαῖαι οὐ

(P. πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. Proprie supplendum 17). est ψῆφον. Thuc. lib. i. cap. 40, ψῆφον προσθεμέθα ἵναντιαν ὑμῖν. V. Observe the abrupt transition to the *oratio recta* from ἵνα . . . τεισθῆτε. F. compares Cic. de Or. 2, 1, 4, “*sed fuit in utroque eorum ut Crassus non tam existimari vellet non didicisse, quam—anteferre. Antonius autem oensembat;*” &c. || Πυλῶν, i.e. of Thermopylae : by occupying this pass Philip laid Phocis open to his arms. || τῶν ἐν Φωκαίστη πραγμάτων, the decision of the Phocian question [lit. “*rerum, quae in Phocensibus gerebantur.*” F.]. The power alluded to was that of acting as generalissimo of the Greeks in the Sacred War. || ἡ συμφέρει, the present rather than the *imperfect*, because the line of conduct he then adopted, was still an advantage to the Thebans in its consequences, and was still pursued by him. F. He alludes to the false pretences by which Philip, at the time the peace was concluded, deluded the Athenians, and withdrew them from the interests of the Phocians. Wst. || τὸς πλεονεξίαν . . . ἔξερδειν, making his grasping ambition and the general subjugation of Greece the measure of his calculations.—ἔξερδειν τι πρὸς τι is to examine the nature of any thing by referring it to something else as its test; to test one thing by another. || τοῖς ίθεσι, your (habitual) principles. So 18, 114, οὐτω ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ίθεσιν ὄπισται. Wst. || οὐδὲν . . . τοιοῦτον, nothing of such importance (so the MS. Σ for τοιοῦτον). Wst. || οὐδὲν ἀνέδεικτο, would be able to pretend: “*se nihil eiusmodi ostentare* (i.e. polliceri, quum tamen praestare nolle) . . . posse.” F. (retaining τοιοῦτον.)

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▲ τῶν ἅλλων τιὰς Ἑλλήνων. K. says that this interposition of the τις (whether as itself the governing word, or as attached to the governing word) is only allowable, when another attributive or other modifying word follows the article. Τιὰς τις Φοινίκων is an Ionic collocation introduced by some late writers. He quotes from Xen. τῶν Τισσαφέρων τις οἰκείων. || τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι. On this order cf. Gr. 695, d (558, d). || ἵναντιασθεῖτε, with a sudden transition from the *oratio obliqua* to the *oratio recta*. Wst. || δούτερον ἄν, sc. ἵναντιαθεῖτε. || ἀντὶ τῶν ἁυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ τινὶ γιγνόμενα, “*commoda (s. emolumenta) quae alicui contingunt,* = his private advantages. He alludes to the Thebans, who let Philip do what he pleased, because he restored to them *Orchomenus* and *Coronea* (as we have seen in the *Or. on the Peace*), which the Phocians had taken from them the year before. Wst. || οὐχ δέως = not only; not. Gr. 1492, d (1041, b) § 762, 2, 3. || ἀντὶ αὐτοῖς κελεύῃ. The same form (subj. c. ἀντὶ) is retained in the secondary clause of the *oratio obliqua*, that the same clause would have in the *oratio recta*. Gr. 1389 (1001) § 886, 2. Cf. 7, 33. || τὸς Μαστηνίδος . . . εὖ ἐπολεῖται, by supporting them in their resistance to the Lacedaemonians. Wst. || εὖ ἐπολεῖται. “The benefits here spoken of seem to have consisted at that time of promises made to them by Philip, perhaps

through Python his ambassador. These promises Philip is said to (P. have fulfilled to a certain extent at a later period, by advancing upon 18). Acarnania and Megara. I used, with many other commentators, to think that the threatening letters said to have been sent by Philip to the Spartans, as well as their short and spirited replies, belonged also to this period (Plutarch, t. ii. p. 511. Valcken. ad Theocr. Adon. p. 261); but an allusion in one of the letters to the presence of the younger Dionysius at Corinth proves, as Vömel justly observes (Proleg. ad Phil. 2), that they could not have been written before the second year of the 109th Olympiad. See Diodor. 16, 70." J. Η τούτη ὑπεληφόντι = from the same persuasion (i.e. as that which he entertained with reference to the Thebans, that they would sacrifice the public good to their private advantage).

*καθ' ὄμοιν* (is *os* = *de robis*). *Katá*, with reference to a non-hostile in relation, is comparatively rare, the usual meaning being *against*. Wst. (aft. F.) compares 18, 215, θεοὺς τύραννα . . . καθ' ὄμοιν τὰ μύστα : and F. adds Cie. de Off. 1, 9, "id quod apud Platones est in philoecphos dictum." Η πάρεσθε, by Philip. Η τὰ οὐρανά τῶν Ἑλλήνων. That independence of the Greek states which had been secured to them by the peace of Antalcidas, but had been violated by the occupation of the *Cadmeia* (citadel of Thebes) by the Lacedemonians. Wst. Η ὁς ἔτρεψε, prop. how (much) otherwise! = quite differently. [Schömann, however, thinks it = *obtrus* ὡς *trípos*, as δύον διέπαντον = *rōsos*, δυον διέπαννον : and Weber = *obtrus* διληθῶς ὡς δυνατῶν λοτι.] F. Η εἴπερτε, finds it recorded = has read. Η δέοντε [so as (to be) = on condition of (being)] denotes as a consequence, what is properly to be conceived as a condition (*το' φ' τε*). Σο τολλὰ μὴ χρήματα, ιέσον μετ λαβεῖν ὕστε μὴ κατηγορεῖν, εἰ λαβεῖν. Dem. 21, 3.

"*Ἀλέξανδρος*. "After the retreat of Xerxes from Greece, Mardonius, who had been left behind in command of the army, sent Alexander, king of Macedonia (the son of Amyntas), to Athens, with the most brilliant promises. 'Their property,' he said, 'should be respected, and they might, moreover, choose any territory that they pleased, and it should be secured to them.' To this offer they replied, 'Carry back this answer to Mardonius: As long as the sun runs the course which now he runs, the Athenians will never unite themselves with the king of the Macedonians, nor cease to oppose him with all their might, relying on the support of their tutelary gods, and the protection of those heroes whose temples and images he has remorselessly given to the flames. Wherefore, we pray you, be no more the bearer of such messages to the Athenian people, nor urge them, in your well-intentioned zeal, to the commission of an act of shame.' To a Spartan embassy sent at the same time, to remind them of their duty, the reply was equally spirited. 'Be assured that no amount of gold, nor any extent of territory, however fair and fruitful, shall tempt us to do homage to the Mede, and enslave our country. Thus much we owe to our insulted gods, and to the common bond of religion, affinity, and manners, which unites us to the rest of Greece. As long as there survives a single Athenian, there will be

(P. no intercourse or alliance with Xerxes' (Hdt. viii. 136 — 144).  
 18). As soon as Mardonius received the reply of the Athenians, his troops were put in motion, and he entered Attica, which he found deserted by the inhabitants, most of whom had retired to Salamis, or gone on board the fleet. Thus, at the end of ten months, was Athens a second time taken by the Persians. An ambassador was now despatched from the capital to Salamis, with the same proposals which they had rejected when Mardonius was at a distance. But the Athenian senators were still as firm as ever in their resolution; and when one of their number attempted to submit the proposal to the general assembly of the people, the crowd that surrounded the senate-house stoned him to death: his wife and children were treated in the same manner by the Athenian women (Hdt. ix. 1 — 5). The ambassador of Mardonius was suffered to depart unmolested. Soon afterwards the Persian general, finding it impossible to maintain his position in Attica, commenced his retreat, after ravaging the land, and destroying what remained of the walls and temples at Athens. In the same year (Ol. 75, 2) the Greek confederates gained the victory of Plataea, and Cimon defeated the Persians in the famous sea-fight off Mycale." J. || ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . προερμάνους. The chronological succession of events is here not carefully observed, for the Athenians had evacuated their country a year before the battle of Plataea; and though Mardonius had made a second attempt on Athens, shortly before the battle of Plataea (Hdt. ix. 3), yet, in the words πράξαντας ταῦθ' . . . δεδύνηται, Dem. beyond a doubt had in his mind not only that battle, but also the earlier victories at Artemisium and Salamis. *Wst.* || τῷ λόγῳ, not as if any other mode of speaking (than by a λόγος) were possible, but to render prominent the antithesis between ἔργα and λόγος: *their deeds are greater than any man can adequately set forth in words* [lit. 'in his speech,' hence the article]. *Wst.* || τὸς μὲν, κ.τ.λ. Observe the *partitive apposition*, where one might rather have expected a partitive gen., τῶν . . . προγόνων τοὺς μὲν, κ.τ.λ. This construction is evidently chosen here to avoid the double gen., τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων . . . προγόνων. "The Thebans are often reproached with their apostasy at the time of the Persian war; hence they are called by Isocrates ' betrayers of the whole of Greece' (Plataicus, c. 13). Of the Argives we are told, that when the Greeks were preparing to resist the invasion of Xerxes, they sent messengers to Argos, to invite their co-operation. To this the Argives replied, that they had been advised by an oracle to remain within their walls; but that they would, nevertheless, join the Greek army, if the Lacedæmonians would insure them a thirty years' peace, and half the command of the auxiliary troops. The first of these proposals was taken into consideration, the other adopted, but with such restrictions as almost amounted to a refusal. Thereupon the Argives resolved, that it would be better for them to bow their necks to the barbarian yoke, than to submit to the insolence of their haughty neighbours, and commanded the ambassadors to quit the city before nightfall. This is the account given by the Argives themselves; but others have asserted that their unwilling-

ness to join the Greek confederation was occasioned by their friendly (P. disposition towards Xerxes, who, a short time before his invasion of 48). Greece, had sent a herald to Argos, with offers of favour and protection (Hdt. vii. 148—151). At a later period, they were accused of having given Mardonius the first intelligence of the march of the Spartan army under Pausanias (Hdt. ix. 12). "J. ἐτοί με διατίθεσθαι, " or conditions at justo fieri, &c. (P.)," or an (implied) condition of just conduct : i.e. under the condition of neither proposing to you nor requiring from you any unjust measure.

and τέτοι and τέτοι. When τέτοι and τέτοι are followed by a verb common to both, this verb is usually in the *present* tense, even when the order of the adverbs is reversed; e.g. Soph. Electr. 997, οὐ τέτοι δέ ὄπειρος καὶ τέτοι Ἰλληρίαπα. On the other hand, in Dem. 29, 38, τετέδοντο καὶ τέτοι καὶ τέτοι πόλεσσον, the imperfect has a special relation to a period *preceding* the immediately present time; and in 3, 38, 9, 36, the conception is somewhat different. Τέτοι relates to the time that preceded the conclusion of the peace. Ήτι οὐ γάρ δι τριήνες γέ ("non enim certe tricentis quidem"). The Athenians could even then mean 300. Cf. 4, 49. F. | δι τῇ . . . εἴρηκε, τῆς δέ . . . δέματονται. The two actions are both dependent on οὐτέ, and stated as ord. nately as independent actions; whereas their true relation is that of cause (motiv) and effect: *nor had he turned his thoughts away from the sovereignty of the sea, and the possession of the maritime cities, from having acquired any considerable (τίτην) sovereignty in the inland countries.* So in Lat.: "indivisa riddetur populum Romanum servitatem, quam sub regibus erat, nullo bello nec ab hostiis ullis obscurata est, liberum cunctis populi ab Etruscis cibideri. Liv. 2, 12 init." F. | ἐγρέγορ, as if the Athenians had dictated to him the terms of the peace.

PAGE 19, § 3. [§ 13, p. 69.]

"Ὀργανούσι τὰ Καρύας. "The Lacedemonians might contend, 3  
that they possessed a prescriptive right to Messene; whereas the A-  
Thebans could only plead their desire to obtain Orchomenus and  
Coronea (see *Orat. de Pace*)."  
*J.* [εὐθέατο; = πρόποδιζατο;

§ 4 [§ 14, p. 63.]

ἀλλ' ἔβασθε, but, it is alleged (or pretended) he was compelled by force: a supposed objection. So 'et' is often used in Lat. Cf. De Pace, θύλακτον τούτο τούτης τολμώσι λέγεται ὡς εἰδί ἔβασθε Θυλάκιος Ὁργαρετόν ται Καρύνθει περιποίησα, ἀλλ' ἔγενετοθή, ἢ Θερμαλία . . . καὶ Θυλάκιον (dpt on pīcō): they were his allies, by whose aid he had terminated the Phoenician war. The Thessalian cavalry was famous, the country being well adapted for breeding horses. It consisted of above 3000 men, and even that number could (as Xenophon tells us) be disabled in times of danger. Τολμῶ, ironically, Τολμῶντες ἔχει, in an *active* sense = ἐπονεῖσσι. So 19, 32, ἔποντες οἱ Χαῖοι καὶ σχόλειοι πρὸς τὸν Θύλακτον. P. 1 Ἐλέαντα. \* Elæata, next to Delphi, the most considerable city of

(P. Phocis, and a place of very great importance on account of its position on the borders of Phocis, Boeotia, and Thessaly, shared the fate of the other Phocian towns at the end of the Sacred War (Pausan. x. 34, 3). If Philip had placed a garrison in it at that time, he would have wrested from Thebes one of the greatest advantages which she had gained by her victory over Phocis. But this he considered unnecessary, as long as the Thebans were obedient to his commands. When, however, they began to manifest symptoms of distrust, and to court the friendship of Athens, Philip at once took possession of a place, which commanded the passage through Phocis and Boeotia into Attica. This did not, however, happen until Ol. 110, 2, a few months before the battle of Chaeronea (Philochorus ap. Dionys. Epist. ad Amm. c. 11. p. 742. Dem. de Corona." J. || μέλλει καὶ μελλόμενος, *he is going to do it, and will continue to be going to do it*, i.e. will still delay doing it, and never do it at last. Dem. was, however, mistaken. || Μαρτυρίους . . . δὲ καὶ Ἀργ. are *dative commodi*, in favour of the Messenians. || συμβάλλειν (= "manus conserere, credi), *to engage*. Its construction with *ἐπί* or *πρός* (instead of the *dat.*) is rare.

B. έρεστος εἰσιτήρια. "These words would seem to indicate that Philip had already sent forward small detachments, or, perhaps, only individual soldiers, in advance of the army which he intended to march into Peloponnesus; or perhaps the openness with which he made his plans known may have provoked Demosthenes to use this expression." J. || έρεστος προσδόκημα, *is expected*. Of course it is implied that he is *expected there*, in the Peloponnesus. || τοῦτο μὲν θύτας, *who still exist, who are left*; opp. to οὐδεὶς ἀπώλεσεν. || τοῦτο μὲν . . . . οὐδεῖται; The two present tenses (the second, *σώζει*, being preferred to the *fut.*, or to an infinitive dependent on a verb of *purpose*) denote *endeavours, intention*, with reference to Philip's present *actual* or *supposed* conduct. *He is endeavouring to bring ruin upon the Lacedemonians, the still existing enemies of the Thebans; and is it now his intention (do you think) to restore the Phocians, whom he himself before destroyed?* The first clauses may be resolved by *whilst*, &c.; but its independent structure *assumes the fact* of Philip's present *purpose*, to destroy the Lacedemonians, in a more positive manner. || καὶ τίς . . . ; and who, pray . . . ? *Kai in interrogations introduces (as it often does in other sentences) an addition that heightens and augments the force of what preceded. Such questions usually point out some inconsequence, some contradiction between the statements made.* Eur. Herc. Fur. 292, καὶ τίς θανόντων ἡλθεν ξε Αἴδου πάλιν; Xen. Cyr. 6, 3, 22, καὶ δοκοῦμέν σοι . . . ικανῶς ξένιν (Hartung, vol. i. 146). Nearly so *et cetera?* *Et eleganter ponitur cum interrogatio in vehementioribus clausulis, quam atulimus, quae talde commovere possunt*" (Goclen. ap. Hand. iii. 492). || έγειρε μὲν γάρ . . . The connexion is, surely *nobody can believe this*, for, to judge by myself, I, for my part, &c. || οὐδέ . . . θηρίουμα, opp. to an implied μηδέ διτι πιστέων, *much less feel confident*. F.—The pupil must attend to the different tenses of έργαζεν (= *did, or had done*) and άπεγίγνωσκε (= *were now*) mentally, *giving up; were beginning to give up [the Thebans] in despair*.

The first *āv* belongs to *ἴναντιοῦσθαι* [= would oppose. Gr. 1089, *c* (P. 830, *c*) § 405, obs. 2], and is then repeated (*epanaleptically*), as 19). It is often done with one of the *ōv̄e*'s. The inference to be drawn from the question is, of course, since, then, *he does thus pertinaciously oppose the enemies of the Thebans*, you must conclude (as I do) that *he was not acting by compulsion* (when he gave up Orchomenus and Coronae to the Thebans), nor is now beginning to distrust the Thebans, and give up his connexion with them. || ἐν τῷτον δ'. These words are not to be joined with θεωρῆ, but to be taken *absolutely*, after which *πραγματένεται* is to be considered *independent*. “From all this, if a man takes a right view of the matter, all that he does he does for the purpose of intriguing against this state.” Wst. [F. joins ἐκ πάντων θεωρῆ, “*si quis autem omni ex parte recte consideret.*”] || συντάττεν (= “componens, fabre constructus.” Rask.) implies the construction of a system of policy: whatever he is so busily employed about, is systematically directed against our state.

νῦν γα δῆ, i.e. now, at least, whatever may have been the case in former times. || τούτος δὲ = τοῦ ἀρχειν αὐτὸν. || εἰς . . . τούτους = τούτους δὲ ὅντα ὑπέρτια ἔχει, for it is by his unjust retention of what belongs to you, that &c. On *Amphipolis* and *Potidaea* see Introd. || προέντο . . . ἀν . . . ἡγεῖτο. Gr. 1286, *a* (945, *a*). || εἰκότ, at home, i.e. in Macedonia. || εἰδε, . . . διετὸν ὑπὸ ἐπιβούλευντα. Since the participle relates to the subject of *οἶδε*, the regular construction would be *οἶδε* . . . ἐπιβούλευτων [Gr. 1110 (843) § 684, ii.]: but the accusative is here preferred, for the purpose of more clearly marking out to the ear the antithesis between *ἐντὸν* *ἐπιβούλευντα* and *ὑμᾶς αἰσθανούντον*. Wst. || δικαίως ἀν . . . νομίσει, he would justly think = he naturally enough concludes. It implies an inference, but without intimating actual uncertainty. || φάσῃ . . . πρότερος. Cf. μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε, Phil. i. 3, *b*. || ἐφεστηκεν, sc. τοῖς πράγμασι.

ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει, lit. against the city, i.e. as a measure in opposition to our state. So 23, 124, δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοῖς πλήθεις κακτημένους. 24, 123, τὰ ἕκτα τῷ πλήθει πενομεθεημένα δεινά. || ταῦτα, i.e. their own interests (not the public good). || τούτους, i.e. the Thebans. || τὰ ψερόντα ἀγαπήσουν. Gr. 925 (730, *a*) § 607. || σωφρονοῦσι γε . . . οἵτινες θεῖν, those, at least, who have any discernment may see, &c. καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματα = παραδείγματα, καὶ (ταῦτα) μετρίως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματα, tolerably plain examples [i.e. of what must be expected to follow, τῶν μετρά ταῦτα]. || οὐ . . . ἔμοιγεν εἰπάν, συνέβη, which I was led to mention; had occasion to mention. The *συνέβη* refers to his being the person rather than another. || πρὸς Μεσσηνίους. “An embassy of Athens to the Peloponnesus, by which the plans of Philip for its invasion were frustrated, is mentioned by Demosthenes in the third Philippic (delivered in the third year of the 109th Olympiad), with the addition, that it had taken place the year before (*τίκνει*), consequently Ol. 109, 2. But this mode of reckoning is too vague to warrant such an attempt at explanation as I made on a former occasion; I am content, therefore, to adopt the suggestion of Winiewski (Comm. Hist.

(P. p. 152, 157), that two embassies must have been sent to Peloponnesus, the one before (Ol. 108, 4), and the other after (Ol. 109, 2), the delivery of the present oration. It was not until after the battle of Chaeronea that Philip entered the Peloponnesus, whither he had been long since invited by his friends and adherents (Polyb. ix. 33, 9)." J. F. says the embassy was sent early in Ol. 109, 1 (B.C. 344).

## § 5. [§ 20, p. 71.]

5 τῶν γὰρ . . . . . ἀκούειν. The γάρ belongs properly to ζητην : and the ἀκούειν, προσδοξεῖν are to be considered the infinitives of the imperfect, εἰ λέγοι denoting indefinite frequency [Gr. 1986 (947) § 855, β], imagine with what impatience they listened, &c. when any one said a word against Philip, &c. F. gives an example of a similar oratorical question from Cic. Fam. 8, 3 : "quomodo illum putas angustatus competitorum tuum dolere?" || Ἀνθεμόντα. "Anthemus, a Macedonian city, near Olynthus. That Philip gave it up to the Olynthiac republic, is known only from the passage before us. Probably this happened about the time when the king conciliated the Olynthians by the cession of Potidea, and withdrew from the alliance with Athens, Ol. 106, 1." J. Both Hdt. (5, 94) and Thuc. (2, 90) speak of it as belonging to the Macedonians. || ἀφίει . . . . . ἀφίσσον, i. e. when he was proposing to give up, to give, &c. The choice between ἀφίει and ἀφίσσον (a form which also occurs) must be determined in each passage (as F. observes) by the best manuscripts.

## PAGE 20.

▲ τοιεῦτα, sc. ἀ νῦν πάσχοντον. || λέγοντος τίνος = εἰ τις θλεύειν. JN. ἀν πιστεῦσαι. || ἄλλοτρίαν, Potidea. || πολέμων. The orator is here a bad prophet, as he reckons upon the final defeat of Philip, and the consequent restoration of Olynthian independence by the Athenian confederacy, though after a long (πολύν) servitude. || ἀκτεύοντες, sc. ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. || προδόθεντες . . . πραθέντες, betrayed and sold by one another, sc. by Lachinēs, Euthycretes, and other traitors. || αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ λίται δριλίαι, these too intimate relations with tyrants. On the order αὐταὶ—αι. Cf. Gr. 705, a.—αὐταὶ, these, i.e. not only such as I am speaking of, but such as you, O Messenians, are proposing to enter into, with Philip. || οἱ Θερραλοί, sc. προσδέκων. "The connexion of Philip with the Thessalians is mentioned in Philip. ii. p. 99, n. The Thessalian nobles, it would appear, had invited Philip (Ol. 105, 4) to aid them in their opposition to the three brothers of Thebe, who, after the assassination of Alexander of Pheræ (Ol. 105, 2), had usurped the supreme authority. By his victory over these tyrants Philip acquired immense influence in Thessaly (Diod. xvi. 14). The Phocian war revived the hopes of the tyrants. Lycophron, who was supported by Onomarchus, commander-in-chief of the Phocians, invaded Thessaly, but was defeated by Philip, and forced to retreat. Onomarchus, on the other hand, was repeatedly victorious. The war having recommenced, Philip was nominated com-

mander of the Thessalians, and took possession of the cities of (P. Pheræ, Pagasse, and Magnesia, for the benefit of his allies, as he 20). pretended, but in reality for himself (Diodor. xvi. 35). At what period the Thessalians were gratified by the long-promised restoration of Magnesia and Nicæa, is not known with any certainty ; but it is most probable that it took place on the termination of the sacred war. Nicæa, a city situated near the passes of Thermopylæ, was a place of great importance as a frontier fortress. *Æschines* (de Falsa Leg. c. 37) says, that the Phocians, who were afterwards masters of this city, together with Alpōnos and Thronium (places of equal importance), had promised, shortly before the negotiations for peace, to place them at the disposal of the Athenians. The Thebans laid claim to Nicæa, and were angry with him for giving up the city to the Thessalians at the conclusion of the Sacred War. (See *Æschin.* c. Ctesiph.) The tyrants of Thessaly, with whom Philip had often been engaged in war, were expelled by him (according to Diodor. xvi. 69) the same year that this oration was delivered, to the great satisfaction of other nations as well as the Thessalians. After the expulsion of the tyrants, Philip placed a Macedonian garrison in Pheræ, their former residence, and established a new government, which was by no means unpopular among the people in general, who were flattered by Philip's imitation of their manners and customs (Theopompus apud Athen. vi. p. 260 B. C.). With regard to the decadarchy (government of ten magistrates) Demosthenes seems to contradict himself, for in his third Philippic he speaks of the introduction of a tetrarchy by Philip. Auger would reconcile these contradictory statements by reading *τετραρχίαν* here also ; whilst Olivier and Leland are of opinion that the whole country was divided into four districts, each of which was governed by a council of ten, who were devoted to Macedonian interests. Schaefer (Appar. Crit. tom. i. p. 425 not.) supposes that the whole country was governed by tetrarchs, and the different cities by decarchs, an opinion not very different from that of the two other commentators<sup>1</sup>. I do not think, however, that either such an explanation or any change of the word is wanted, if we understand the orator as speaking not of any particular form of government, but (consistently with the object which he had in view<sup>2</sup>) of such an absolute rule as the Lacedemonians were accustomed to exercise over conquered cities, the name of which (Decadarchy, Decemvirate) sounded more hateful in Athenian ears than even that of tyranny. Weiske (de Hyperb. iii.)

<sup>1</sup> I have no doubt that the passage was thus read by Harpoerat, who says : Φιλέων μέντοι παρὰ Θεραλός δεκαδαρχίαν οὐ κατέστησεν, δε γύρων τοῦ τόπου Φιλέων (Or. c. Phil. 2), δλλά τετραρχίαν. His words, although somewhat obscure, can scarcely be understood as bearing any other meaning than this, that Demosthenes frequently speaks of decadarchies, although Philip in reality established only tetrarchies.

The meaning of the term δεκαδαρχία, as it is understood for example by Isocrates, is explained by Harpoerat in the same article.

<sup>2</sup> This object would be still more distinctly shewn if Demosthenes had written : τὴν καθεστῶσαν νόν, οὐ τετραρχίαν, ἀλλά δεκαδαρχίαν. The force of the expression might, however, have been weakened by such a change.

(P. adopts this explanation, which is rejected by Vömel (in a Programme 20), dedicated to this subject, 1830, p. 14) on the ground of my having

A brought forward no proof of the word being ever used in the sense which I desire it to bear (*vim, quam optat, vocabulo inesse*<sup>3</sup>). He himself thinks that the apparently contradictory passages may be reconciled, by supposing that Philip divided the land (as it was before the conquest) into four parts, each of which was governed by a tetrarch, but that the *whole* was subjected to the government of decemviri. It is quite correct, therefore (he adds), to say that Philip established tetrarchies as well as a decadarchy. But as the orator was at liberty to employ whichever of the expressions he pleased, we find that in his speech before the Messenians and Argives, he uses the obnoxious name (*invidioso nomine*) because those nations had already groaned beneath the Lacedæmonian decadarchies, and were apprehensive of being again subjected to the same yoke. This explanation agrees with my own in one essential particular, but differs from it in taking for granted that an actual decemvirate was established (a fact which it would be difficult to prove); whereas mine does not assume that reference was necessarily made to any particular form of government established by Philip<sup>4</sup>. The tetrarchy had moreover been a standing institution of Thessaly since the days of Alenas. See Buttm. Mytholog. ii. p. 251." J.

B Πυλαίαν. Cf. Or. de Pace, end of § 13. || προσόδους. Cf. Ol. 1, § 22: ἡκουον δὲ ἔγωγι τινῶν ὡς οὐδὲ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἐπιδωσιν αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι. τὰ γάρ κοινά τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων διοι διοικεῖν, οὐ Φιλιππον λαμβάνειν. Wst. || οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Assuredly not: = οὐκ οἰσθε προσδοκᾶν τοὺς Θετταλούς. || θεωρεῖτε (indic.) . . . ἀποφύγεσθε (imperat.). The orator applies what he had said to the Messenians, for whom a similar fate was preparing. As long as Philip's plans are not yet ripe for execution, he is all readiness to serve you, will give you what you please, and promise you whatever you ask: but, if you are wise, pray that the day may never arrive when his deceitful and treacherous designs shall stand before you as an accomplished fact.

C τοὺς πλήθεστ, cf. 18, 46. || οὐδὲν μὴ θεατόν = οὐ μηδειάν τα (18, 246). || εἰτ' οὐχ δῆτε. Gr. 1358 (980) § 874, 6. || καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας, his very titles (L.), not to speak of the substantial

<sup>3</sup> That the word *δεκαδαρχία* is taken in its secondary sense to signify something hateful, is granted by our learned critic. It seems, therefore, scarcely reasonable to ask for proofs of its being used elsewhere in a similar sense. Who would require this, if an orator called a monster meeting a *convention*, or a commission, appointed for carrying out violent measures, a *committee of public safety*? J.

<sup>4</sup> Vömel says that I am mistaken in supposing that these arrangements were

made by Philip immediately after the expulsion of the tyrants, since they were expelled in Ol. 108, 4, and the new form of government was established in Ol. 109, 1. This is true enough in one sense—but he forgets that the tyrants returned to Thessaly, and were a *second time* expelled, Ol. 109, 1. The testimony of Diodor. (xvi. 69) is very distinct on this point. Comp. Winiewski, Comm. Hist. p. 146, 155. Flathe, Hist. of Macedonia, part i. p. 216. J.

nature of his power and character of his government. || βασιλεὺς . . . (P. ἐναρτίος, a rhetorical exaggeration, as the comparative weakness of 20). the 'kings' of Sparta itself might show. || πολέμου, with Lacedæmon.

## § 6. [§ 26, p. 72.]

Θορυβοῦντες δὲ δρός λέγεται, with clamorous expressions of approbation, p. 27, d. || καὶ πάλιν ὑπερον, after the departure of Dem., D who probably visited other cities of Peloponnesus with the same object. || παρ' ἀ = παρὰ ταῦτα δ., ε.τ.λ., act against their own better judgement. The opinion expressed is founded on the intellectual superiority of Athens, but the mention of it in this place is intended and fitted to call up in the minds of the Athenians themselves a lively consciousness, that their own conduct had not corresponded to this their assumed superiority in point of intellect and judgement. Wst. || ἀλλ' ὄμεῖς. Instead of proceeding with δλλ' εἰ ὄμεῖς (which would have been the regular construction) the orator turns directly to the Athenians. So in the Oration de Rebus Chersonesi, p. 27, c fin., ἀλλ' ὄμεῖς. || εἰτοί, of yourselves; from your own experience. || οὐτε . . . ποῦρα, on condition of doing nothing at present; if you may but do nothing at present; the aor. inf. to exclude any single act. (Vöm. reads τούτην.) Baier and Sauppe have adopted this reading from the best MS. (Σ). There are, however, many various readings; F. and Wst. read τις τοῦ μηδένι ποιῆσαι, from (= in consequence of) having done nothing, &c. || λάσσετε . . . τάντα ὑπομενεῖτε, will find unexpectedly that you have submitted to every thing (even the worst that can be conceived); have allowed every thing, even the very worst, to befall you.—πάντα is opposed to μηδέν.

## PAGE 21, § 7. [§ 28, p. 72.]

τῶν νῦν πραγκίνων. Cf. Isoc. 15, 59: πολλῶν ἔτι μοι λεκτίων γ δυτῶν. Xen. Cyr. 7, 5, 7: πολιορκητίους φημὶ εἶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας. A Wst.

ὅθερ πίνειν. "Philocrates was impeached by Hypereides as a traitor (Ol. 109, 1)." For an account of him see p. 96 of my ed. of the Orat. de Corona. "Demosthenes was often turned into ridicule by this man and his partisans. On one occasion, when they were opposed to each other, Philocrates said, with a sneer, 'It is no wonder that we disagree. He drinks water, and I drink wine' (Or. de Fals. Leg.). The name of water-drinker was used by the ancients to indicate a poor spiritless creature, incapable of any thing great or generous. Hence Horace (1 Epist. 19, 2): 'Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt, Quae scribuntur aquae potoribus.'" J.—ὅδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἀν τέκοις καλόν was a proverb. Rost. || δέστροτος . . . τις. Gr. 1027 (800) § 659, 4. || δέν παρελθῃ, i.e. through Thermopylae. || θεωρίας, ε.τ.λ. Cf. De Pace, p. 13, A, B. || τέλεστ = ἀναλόμασιν. Phot. || διορέξα. "The project of cutting through the isthmus of the Chersonesus, between Pteleon and Leuke-Acte, is also mentioned in the Oratio de Halon. This would have completely separated the Athenian settlements on the peninsula." Phil. Dem.

(P. sulas from Thrace, and been a protection against the assaults of their 21). northern neighbours." J.

c τοῖς ἐγύρων. "The circumstance of the Athenians having pledged their descendants as well as themselves to this peace, is emphatically alluded to by Demosthenes in another place (de Fals. Leg. § 46), where he says, There were some who expected that you would repent of having concluded a peace with Philip : but to these it was answered, that you had extended its provisions even to your descendants, so that they could expect nothing more on our part. Now this, in my opinion, is the worst grievance of all. In a treaty of peace with a mortal, whose power is the result of circumstances which may change at any moment ; to perpetuate your city's shame, and cut her off from all chances of future good fortune ; and to be so far the slaves of his wicked will as to acquiesce in the disfranchise-  
ment, not only of the present generation, but of Athenian citizens yet unborn—is not this, I pray you, the very lowest depth of baseness ? Surely you would never have permitted the insertion of those words, 'and also for our descendants,' if you had not at that time believed the promises of *Aeschines*." J.—ἐγύρων = *posteriori*; ἐγύρων, *nepotes*. F. || πρὸς τὰς ἀπειθίας, according to your hopes ; such were the hopes you entertained. He refers to the hopes they were led to entertain by their treacherous ambassadors and others, that the peace would be highly conducive to their interests. || δέω = ὅτι ἔδει. F. || ἐρῶ . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, i.e. *aperte dicam*. Cf. 8, 73. 13, 10. 19, 3. ἐρῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀπορρίψομαι, 24, 104, 200. ἐρῶ καὶ οὐ σωπήσομαι, 45, 83. Mäten. ad Antiph. 2, 2, 5. Interpp. ad Hom. H. i. l. F. || οὐχ ἴνα, κ.τ.λ., not that, by breaking out into invectives, I may procure for myself as fair a hearing at your hands as they receive, whilst I furnish a fresh opportunity to those who have attacked me, of again receiving something on a new score from Philip, &c. So V., Wst.: φύσι τάσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει τῶν μὲν λοιδορῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγορῶν ἀσθενεῖς ηδεῖς. De Pac. p. 57, § 4.—εἰς λοιδορ. ἐμπεπτωκός = ad concilia delapsus. Cf. εἰς λόγους ἐμπεπτωκα, de Cor. § 42 [§ 18]. V. Jn. οὐκ ἀρχῆς παράσχω. Cf. F. Leg. 151, οὐκ ἀρχῆς (*denuo*). ηθέλωσε πολεμεῖν . . . [But F. gives a different meaning to the passage : not that, being assailed by the invectives (of my adversaries), I may win myself as fair a hearing (and no more) as you grant to them, &c.] || οὐ δλλως, temere. F. || τὰ νῦν, at present ; now. The phrase might mean, his present operations; the present state of things. || τὸ . . πρᾶγμα, the thing I am speaking of; the danger. || βευλοῦμην ἀν . . Cf. Lys. 12, 22 (where there is a similar omission of μέν): ἐγώ δ' ἔβουλόμην ἀγ αὐτοὺς ἀληθῆ λέγεια, νῦν δὲ, κ.τ.λ. F.

D τοῦτ, i.e. the state of mind I have spoken of ; the time when you will feel Philip's conduct more deeply than you now do. || ἀμελεῖν ἔξουσία, where τοῦ ἀμελεῖν might be used. Cf. ἔξουσία ποιεῖν, p. 24, c; ἡσυχία πράττειν, p. 31, a, &c. || τῶν πρόσβατων, of the ambassadors who were bribed by Philip, when they went to him about the peace. || οὐδ' οὐδε is to be connected with δεδωρητέος, the ambassadors were to hold their tongues about those objects, with reference to which (i. e. for the furtherance of which) they knew that the bribes they

had received were paid. On the construction cf. Gr. 1103 (836) (P. § 682, 2. || διὰ τούτους, through them; by their means or co-operation. 21). || τὰ πολλά, ut plurimum, plerumque. F. || ἐνίστας, he speaks indefinitely, but means the Athenians. || τὰς ὑπὸ χέρα μάλιστα, those whom you can most easily lay your hands on, = τοὺς ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπόντας, Olynth. I, 16. || τὴν ὄργην ἀφέναι = iram effundere, to vent your rage [to point your anger against: L.]. || συνίσταται, is forming; is in process of formation; i. e. before it is a *fait accompli*.

## PAGE 22.

περὶ τῶν δικαίων, i. e. about the rights confirmed to you and your dependencies by the terms of the peace with Philip. || ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων, i. e. about the defence of your foreign dependencies. || ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, on which the peace was ratified. Scirophorion, 16 (June 13). Ol. 108, 2. || οὐδὲν ἀν ἦν . . . πρᾶγμα, there would (now) have been no trouble (difficulty), &c. || δῆταν, κ.τ.λ. So Ol. 2, 25. Fals. Leg. 153: οὗτε γάρ κατὰ γῆν παρελθὼν οὗτε ναυσὶ πραγήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἥξειν ἐμελλει, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξίσιον παραχρῆμα, εἰ μὴ τὰ δίκαια τοιοῖη, εἰσίσει τὰ ἱμπόρια καὶ χρημάτων τοῦτον σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πολιορκίᾳ τάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν, ὅστ' ἔκεινος ὁ δουλεύων ἐμελλει ἵστεθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης λυστελοῦσιν, οὐχ ὑμεῖς. F. || κρατήσας = ἐκράγησεν ἀν καὶ. F.

Φοκίας = the territory of the Phocians. || δι' ὃν = oīos ἣν δι' εἶν. Cf. Aesch. 3, 137: οὗτε Φρυνώνδας οὗτε Εὐρύβατος . . . τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἴγενετο, δις, κ.τ.λ. i.e. oīos οὐτός ἔστιν, δις, κ.τ.λ. || ὃν δ' ἀν ἔξει. κ.τ.λ., “utinam ne fiat, ut ea, quae dixi de proditoribus accuratissime cognoscantur a eventu comprobentur.” F. On ὃν ἀν c. opt. cf. Gr. 1312, § 810 (cf. Aristoph. Av. 1338: γενοίμαν αἰτεῖς ὑψηλίτας, ὃς ἀν πορεθεῖην, i. e. “ut, si forte, volem a. ut volare possim”). F.

# INTRODUCTION

TO THE

## ORATIO DE REBUS CHERSONESI.

<sup>a</sup> We learn from Dionysius, that this Oration was delivered in the third year of the 109th Olympiad, and, as appears from p. 25, c (ἀν τῷ τῶν πνευμάτων, κ.τ.λ.), before the setting in of the Etesian winds<sup>1</sup>.

The Thracian Chersonese, which forms the western coast of the Hellespont, afforded a continuous shelter to the mariner in his passage through that strait; a navigation of the greatest importance to the trade of Athens, principally as regarded the importation of grain from the countries bordering on the Euxine. As early as the time of Pisistratus, the Athenians had obtained a footing there (Hdt. 6, 34—41); and, at a later period, no exertions were spared to extend their influence, or regain possession of the territory of which, from time to time, they had been deprived. Nor did they disdain to adopt towards the inhabitants of the neighbouring country of Thrace the policy which they so severely censured in Philip, of stirring up feuds, for the purpose of securing their own settlements against any combined attack<sup>2</sup>. In the Peloponnesian war the whole of this territory was wrested from the Athenians, who did not regain possession of the Chersonese until the third year of the 105th Olympiad, when the distracted state of his dominions compelled Kersobleptes, one of the sons of Kotys, to make over to them the entire peninsula<sup>3</sup>, with the exception of Cardia. The possession of this territory having been guaranteed to them afresh in the peace with Philip (Ol. 108, 2), who had been gradually extending his settlements on the coast of Thrace, and had expelled Kersobleptes from his kingdom, the Athenians sent out a body of armed citizens to the Chersonese, nominally as colonists, but in reality to act as an army of observation. These settlers

<sup>1</sup> Consequently before the commencement of the dog-days.

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes (Or. c. Aristocr. § 103), speaking of the various causes by which the aggrandizement and security of Athens and her colonies were promoted, says, "Believe me, it is no small

advantage to our countrymen in the Chersonese, that the Thracians are so feeble as they are; their dissensions and their mistrust of one another are our best and surest protection."

<sup>3</sup> See Or. c. Aristocr. § 8, sqq.

were commanded by Diopeithes, who probably received instructions <sup>A</sup> to watch the movements of Philip, and avail himself of every opportunity which might present itself of diminishing the influence of the king, and strengthening the position of Athens in the Chersonese. No sooner had these new Cleruchi taken possession of their allotments, than the Cardians, the ancient enemies of Athens, raised a dispute respecting the boundary-line ; and, Diopeithes having attacked them with a body of mercenary troops, they applied for and obtained assistance from their ally, the king of Macedonia. It would appear that, shortly after these events, Kersobleptes, taking advantage of Philip's being engaged in a war with the Odrysae, again raised his head<sup>4</sup> ; and Diopeithes at the same time seized on certain Thracian cities<sup>5</sup> belonging to the Macedonians, and carried off several prisoners, and a considerable amount of booty. On receiving intelligence <sup>B</sup> of these proceedings, Philip entered Thrace ; but, Diopeithes having withdrawn into the interior, he was obliged to content himself with addressing a letter to the Athenians, in which he accused their general of having violated the conditions of the peace. The letter also contained, in all probability, a repetition of the demands which he had made on a former occasion, that the Cardians should not be disturbed in the possession of their territory, and that the dispute respecting the boundary-line should be submitted to arbitration : as well as a threat that force would be employed in the event of their refusal to comply with his requisitions. The friends of Macedonia, or, more correctly speaking, perhaps, those who dreaded a foreign war, were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity which now presented itself, of advancing the interests of their party. Speeches of the most violent character were delivered, <sup>C</sup> in which they denounced the leader of the Athenian Cleruchi as a disturber of the peace, and, in addition to the charges brought against him by Philip, accused him of extortion, in having, when greatly in want of money, required a subsidy from certain cities of Asia. There was every reason to fear that the result of these accusations would be the dissolution of the army of the Chersonese, the only barrier against the aggression of the king of Macedonia in that quarter. Demosthenes had long since urged his countrymen to maintain an army there, in order to avail themselves of recent favorable circumstances, and this advice the Athenians had been wise enough to follow ; but now they seemed inclined to throw away all the advantages which they had gained, and suffer their possessions in the Chersonese again to be wrested from them, as had been the case in former times. To meet this danger Demosthenes came forward, and delivered the 'Oration on the affairs of the Chersonese.' <sup>D</sup> By many it was called a defence of Diopeithes<sup>6</sup> ; but although this was, to a certain extent, its object, it had undoubtedly a still higher

<sup>4</sup> Diodor. 16, 17.

<sup>5</sup> See Philip's letter.

<sup>6</sup> ὡρέιθους, as some Scholiasts give its title. This Diopeithes is sup-

posed to have been the father of the comic poet Menander. See Meineke de Vita Menandri, p. 24.

A aim. Of course the conduct of Diopeithes, even if all the charges against him were proved, would appear less culpable to those who thought with Demosthenes, than to the Macedonian party at Athens : but his fate was a matter of indifference to Demosthenes, in comparison with the interests of the Athenian commonwealth, which required, above all things, a wholesome mistrust of their restless enemy, and the adoption of active measures against the increasing dangers, which threatened them on every side. In accordance with this view, the orator repudiated the notion of those who would attach undue importance to the conduct of Diopeithes, instead of instituting an inquiry into the condition of the country, the disposition of Philip, and the fact, which was only too notorious, of the peace having been violated by him, and not by Diopeithes. He then goes on to speak at considerable length of the causes which render the conduct of Philip a subject of anxiety, the advantages which he has taken of the Athenians, and the objects which he has been steadily pursuing ; and implores his countrymen not to destroy with their own hands the only barrier which could withstand the torrent of their enemy's ambitious violence. Far wiser would it be to maintain, to the utmost of their power, the force, which had been hitherto so miserably insufficient for the defence of their possessions in the Chersonese. He then condemns, in strong language, the indifference of the people, and the unprincipled conduct of those who would take advantage of their inactivity ; denounces, in the name of the Hellenic nations, the supineness of Athens, and adduces satisfactory proofs of the activity of the Macedonian being directed against Athens and the liberties c of Greece. Under such circumstances peace would be disgraceful : the only choice left to them was between war and slavery. These ideas are developed in a manner calculated to excite a wholesome shame in the minds of his hearers, and to stimulate them to vigorous action. For the object of the orator is not to win, as others had done, the approbation of the multitude by flattering speeches, but to rouse them to action by words of honest condemnation. Then follows a noble and eloquent defence of himself against the charge of confining his services to mere words ; and certainly nothing can be more judicious or better calculated to rekindle the smouldering embers of patriotic enthusiasm, than the manner in which he introduces, parenthetically as it were, the example of Timotheus, whose eloquence in other days had stimulated the people to exertions which D were crowned with the most abundant success. This speech of Demosthenes produced the desired effect : for he boasts at a later period (Ol. 112, 3) of having saved the Chersonese by his exertions ; and we learn from Philip's letter to the people of Athens, that no punishment was inflicted on Diopeithes. Auger tells us, that this general was afterwards slain in a battle against Philip ; but cites no authorities in support of his assertion.

## NOTES

TO THE

### ORATIO DE REBUS CHERSONESI.

PAGE 23, § 1. [§ 1, p. 90.]

*See. Gr. 790 (632) § 888, 3. || γινωδήποτείσιά [Gr. 1459, *k.*, (P. § 723, 1)], for some cause or other. From the nature of the preceding 23), cause, φύλοντα, it is sufficiently implied that the indefinite cause 1 or causes, which he does not stop to name, are of an unworthy kind. A || ἀφελόντας, having removed or put aside. So 23, 20: θαν μὲν λέγω περὶ τῶν νόμων, ἀφελῶν ὅτῳ τὸ ψῆφομα εἰρηται καὶ ποιώ τινι, σκοτειόθω. *C.* || ἡ μὲν οὖν σπουδὴ . . . τῶν δὲ λόγων. These clauses may be resolved by a clause with whereas, whilst, and a principal sentence: whereas our real concern (*σπουδὴ*) is, &c.; most of the speeches that have been made, &c. || ἀνδέκατον μῆνα τετροῦ . . . τετάται, has now been engaged for the last ten months and more; i.e. the present month is the eleventh. Cf. Gr. 740 (594).*

*ὅσα . . . εἰρήτατα τούτων. Gr. 963 (761). || ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔστιν, it is in your power. Cf. p. 31, *B.* *εἰρ.* Diopeteines was an Athenian subject, and hence might be punished for his misdeeds at any convenient time; but the aggressions of Philip required immediate attention. *C.* || *JN.* καλάζειν κατὰ τοῦς νόμους. || κἄν (= καὶ ἔτι) . . . δοκῦ, ε.τ.λ., i. e. ἡγοῦμαι ἴγχωρεῖν σκοπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὑμῖν, καν δοκῦ ἥδη (σκοπεῖν) καν ἵπτοχοῦσι. The adv. ἥδη is opposed to the dat. partcp. ἵπτοχοῦσι (to you, having foreborne, =) after a delay; after a time. || λαχυρίζεσθαι, to insist upon (enixe urgere). || δοτα . . . περὶ αὐτῶν, ε.τ.λ. After a relative, the Greeks often placed the *tōnēta* αὐτός (which then regularly does not take the first place) instead of οὗτος. Thus Lys. 25, 11: ἄγα τοινυν ἡγοῦμαι δοτα μὲν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀτιμοι ἡσαν εὐθένας δεδωκότες . . . προσήκειν αὐτοῖς ἑτέρας ἵπτοχοῦν πολιτειας. *Wst.* || κἄν, ε [quæ] si. || περὶ τούτων δέ. The δέ is *resumptive* in apodosi. Gr. 1458, *p.* 1. § 770, *l.* *a.* Τούτων is here retrospective, referring back to δοτα δέ. It resumes the subject with emphasis, and to increase the emphasis repeats the δέ. See Jell's Kühner, § 658. *C.* || βεβούλευσθαι. The perf. infin. here denotes *speedy accomplishment*. Cf. Phil. 1, 19: ἀ πάσι δεδόχθαι φημι δεῖν καὶ παραστανάθαι προσήκειν οἴομαι. || περὶ τῶν ἄλλων,*

(P. about the other matters, which are of less pressing importance ; he  
 23). alludes to what Diopeithes was doing and preparing to do. || τῶν ἄλλων, sc. περὶ ὧν Διοπείθης πράγματα καὶ μέλλει ποιεῖν. F. || θερύβοις. Causal dat. (on account of the clamours.) So κατηγορίαις. C. || ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶντα, (to run off; =) to be diverted from these.—  
 ἀποδιδράσκω, aor. 2. Cf. Gr. 467 (372), i. § 252, 14.

## § 2. [§ 4, p. 91.]

2 οὐδενὸς ἡττον = οὐδὲ ἡττόν τινος, not less than any thing, i. e. as  
 c much as any thing = most of all. || τῇ τῇ βουλῇ. “ Into which De-  
 mosthenes had been admitted, in the Archonship of Themistocles,  
 a little after the taking of Olynthus : and, as Aeschines would have us  
 believe, by intrigue and bribery.” L. || ὡς ἔρα, that forsooth. Gr.  
 1449, e (1046) § 788. || ἥστι δι, an anakoluthon. He was going to  
 say ἀρήνην ἄγειν, but after the interposed words, οὐκέτι δει λέγειν,  
 he proceeds differently. F. || συσκευάζεται, is, as it were, packing  
 them up; forming a party of them against you, i. e. is exciting them  
 against you.

## PAGE 24.

A καὶ τὰ γε . . . δρῶ, and matters, at least on your side, I see prepared  
 for this, i. e. for keeping the peace. C.—This is an indirect censure of  
 their tame and peaceful attitude. Wst. || οὐδὲ μὲν εἰρόσαμεν, what we  
 swore to, i. e. the articles of the treaty of peace made with Philip at  
 the close of the Amphipolitan war. C.—|| ἐφ' οἷς, the conditions upon  
 which. || τοὺς κληροῦχους. The settlers sent out with Diopeithes, to  
 squat upon the Chersonesus. C.—κληροῦχοι were public colonists, sent  
 out by the Athenians to occupy the lands of conquered cities : each  
 of them received its allotment (κλῆρος). || πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον  
 (of having made, =) as the author of the war, i. e. that which he fore-  
 sees as certain. || νίκηρος . . . ταῦτι, for which here are your ratified  
 decrees complaining of him. Understand ταῦτι. “ Vult Athenienses  
 suo ipsorum gladio jugulare, quasi dicat : nos ipsi decrevatis, pacem  
 esse a Philippo violatam, et tamen dubitatis adhuc, an pro hoste sit  
 habendum ? ” Wolf.—ταῦτι = are here [Gr. 1014 (796) § 655, 1]. He  
 had copies of them before to refer to, if necessary.—Ψηφίσματα is  
 the predicate, ταῦτι the subject. F. Wst. || τῶν ἄλλων· ἄλλων of  
 the other Greeks and barbarians (the Thracians, as F. supposes); ἄλλων  
 belonging to both Ἑλλ. and Βαρβάρων. || τῇ τούτῳ λέγουσιν . . . ;  
 “ quidnam est hoc quod dicitur? what is the meaning of this assertion  
 of theirs, that ” . . . ! || τὸν πράγματος, about the matter. Cf. Phil.  
 1, (9,) δρᾶτε γάρ τὸ πρᾶγμα, κ.τ.λ. || ἔποιαίτεραι, there is left, there  
 remains to us, i. e. they were compelled by the aggressions of Philip  
 to turn their attention to this part of the subject, which had been so  
 studiously passed over by the other speakers. C.

B οὐδὲ φερβαίνουσιν (sc. τῷ λόγῳ), purposely pass over, studiously omit.  
 || πλὴν εἰ, nisi si. || εἰ δὲ . . . εἰσχονται, but if they establish our rights  
 upon these principles, and define the peace thus, i. e. as is implied in the  
 supposed case which precedes. C.—Ταῦτη must not be taken in  
 agreement with αρήνην : it is the complement of the predicate [Gr.

716 (562) § 453, b]. If they call it a peace, if Philip does but (P. refrain from invading Attica or the Piræus. || δύνωνται. Gr. 1462 24). (1052, b) § 726, 2, b. || οὐ μὴν ἀλλά. Gr. 1444 (1053, a) § 774, 6. JN. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά συμβαίνειν αὐτοὺς λέγουν καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐνεργία ταῖς κατηγορίαις, ἃς Διοπειθόν, ε.τ.λ.—That is to say, as appears from what follows, the very licence which they claimed for Philip was calculated to destroy the force of their accusations against Diopitheas. C. || τί γὰρ δῆ τοれ, for why in the world I should like to know, &c.

ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία, ε.τ.λ., is a form of *derisory or ironical objection*. So c Lept. p. 457: ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία λέτεντος εἰσαὶς εἴροι. Devar. et ib. Klotz. —ἴξελλγονται, sc. οἱ ἵστινα λέγοντες, but on these points you will say they are refuted, but, &c. || περικόπτοντες, laying waste, ravaging. From the practice of cutting down the fruit-trees in ravaging an enemy's country. C. || κατέγνων, taking into port, detaining. See De Pace, prop. fin. De Cor. § 73 [§ 27, D]. || ἐπὶ τῶν δικαίων, in good faith; without any corrupt motive. Cf. τοῦς . . . νόμους τίθεσθε ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δικαιοῖς οὐτε πέρδοντος Ἰνεὶς ἀδίκου, οὐτε χάριτος οὐτ' ἴγνοις ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν μόνον τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἀποβλέποντες. Μεσ. Tim. 177. || τὸν ἀφεντικόντα καὶ πορίζοντα χρήματα. That is, Diopitheas, who seems to have received, or to have taken, a sort of general commission to plunder from Philip, for the state left him to provide his own resources. C.

διαλυθρομένην, will be disbanded also. || ἀν ὑμῖν ταῦτα πεισθῆτε. D Gr. 963 (761) § 551, 2. || εἰ δὲ μῆ. Gr. 1464, 9 (§ 860, f). || οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσέντων ή . . . The *τοτείν* is sometimes omitted, so that the form becomes οὐδὲν ἄλλο η, ε.τ.λ. So in Latin, both *nihil aliud quam* or *nisi*, &c., and *nihil aliud agere* (or *facere*) *quam* (or *nisi*). F. || τρόπον, manner of acting, system. || δὲ οὖ, ε.τ.λ., in consequence of which (system) the present state of things has ruined the commonwealth. || ἀνταρτα = rem publicam. F. [Wst. reads ἀπόλωλεν, has been brought to ruin.] || οὐδενί, dat. instrumenti. || κεκράτηκα, superior factus est. F. || τῷ πρότερος. Gr. 1067 (826) § 672, 2. || δύναμιν συνεστηκύειν. “Perpetuum exercitum, quem alibi (iv. 32) nominat συνεχῆ παραστανῆν.” Wolf. || οὐδὲν οὖς, against whom.—*Οὐδὲν* is used with an acc. after a verb of rest (*τάρεστιν*), on account of the previous motion implied in it (*he goes and is present*). C. Gr. 1433 (1037) § 645.

## PAGE 25.

ὑστερίζοντας, though ὑμῖν preceded. Gr. 1147 (869) § 711. || προσ- Α οφλισκάνειν, incur in addition (πρός).

## § 3. [§ 13, p. 93.]

ὅτι καὶ . . . τοῦτο, that these other things are but words and pretenses, 3 while this is what is really attempted and plotted.—λόγοι and προφάσεις are predicates, and hence without the article. C. Cf. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα λόγους καὶ φλυαρίας εἴησι, 20, 101. || τέλλα . . . ταῦτα, i.e. what is said about Diopitheas. || καὶ τὰ νῦν = as before; so now also.—τὰ νῦν adverbial, as τὰ νῦν, n. on p. 110, c (estr.). || πράττεται

(P. καὶ καρασκεύαζεται, agitur et instruitur. Καρασκεύαζεται more  
25). nearly defines the general term πράττεται. "Παραστεύεται pro-  
prie est σκέψη comparare, deinde omnino comparare aliquid; contra  
καρασκεύεται est σκέψη (παραστασμίν) deponere, i.e. applicare,  
adhibere ad aliquid instruendum, deinde omnino instruere, exornare  
aliquid." Krüg. ad Xen. An. 3, 2, 24.

B οἱ παρόντες = οἱ παρῆσαν, who were with Philip, or in the country  
(Thrace) which was the scene of his operations. || πράττοντο πάν.  
"Non sequitur ἐπειγε, sed mutata structure ratione, cuius mutationis  
causa est in verbis interpositis, pergitur his verbis: καὶ μὴν  
οὐδὲ ἀκεῖνο, κ.τ.λ., § 16. Vid. De Pace, § 7." F. || μενῶν ἀπτ . . .  
ἀπτε, will adhere to the same folly; will persist in the same folly, i.e.  
would continue to reject the alliance of Athens, as they had since  
the Social War. C. || οὐτέ βούλευται αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσαντις; "In the war  
of the Confederates the Byzantines had been the allies of the Chians  
and Rhodians against Athens (Ol. 105. Or. pro Rhodior. Libertat.  
§ 3); and, under the influence probably of ancient mistrust,  
had rejected the advice of Athens, when she warned them against  
their perilous alliance with Philip. It is in allusion to this con-  
duct of theirs that Demosthenes speaks of the 'indiscretion of the  
Byzantines.' The events of the following year justified his fore-  
bodings. Byzantium, being attacked by Philip (Ol. 109, 4), applied  
for aid to the Athenians, who sent out a considerable fleet to the  
Bosporus (Diiodor. 16, 77), and for the present frustrated the plans  
of the king. Comp. Plutarch. Life of Phocion." J. || καὶ εἰ, even if.  
Gr. 1464, g (1053, e) § 861, 2. || καὶ τούτους εἰσφέροντας, even  
these they would receive, i.e. as coadjutors, allies, or protectors. C.  
|| μὴ θυναμένων, on account of the Etesian winds. || ἀπολελέναι,  
intrans., to perish, and in the perf. to denote the certainty of the  
act, as if already accomplished. See n. on βεβούλευσθαι, p. 115,  
foot. C. || νὴ Δία, yes; and well they may. It supposes some one  
to approve of letting the Byzantines perish on account of their per-  
verteness.

C πάρει γε, most assuredly; no doubt; a common formula in answers  
of assent. Cf. Plat. Gorg. 453, D. Gr. 1381 (996) § 880. || καὶ μήν.  
Gr. 1482 (1053, l) § 728, c. || ἐπιστολῆς, which he sent them from  
Thrace, complaining of the conduct of Diopitheas. C. || η τὸ συν-  
στηκός, i. e. the army already raised and under the command of  
Diopitheas. || νὴ Δία, to be sure; you will say. A supposed dialogue  
between the orator and an opponent. C. || καὶ τι . . . ; and in  
what respect will? &c. On ἀλλὰ . . . ἀλλά at the commencement  
of the replies, cf. Gr. 1444, j. || ὑπό, by = on account of. Used of the  
Etesian winds blowing steadily from the north.

D ὅράτε καὶ λογίζεσθε. We have the reversed order in 18, 185, λογίζον  
καὶ ὅρα. || τινες, those who were for recalling Diopitheas and his  
army. || μηδὲ . . . μηδὲ, not even . . . nor yet. Gr. 1493, f. § 776, 2.  
|| ἄπι Χαλκίδα . . . Ὀρεόν. "Chalcis and Oreos, cities of Euboea.  
Philip had obtained possession of the latter by treachery (probably  
about Ol. 109 $\frac{1}{2}$ ). About the same time an attempt on Megara mis-  
carried." J.

## PAGE 26, § 4. [§ 19, p. 94.]

*συνευπορούντας, suppeditantes.* Cf. 38, 6, *τριάκοντα δὲ μῆνας* (P. ίδειτό μου οὐρανοί *συνευπορήσαι*. 27, 49, *τοὺς ταῦτα συνευπορή- 26).* *εαυτας.* Cf. Metrum. ad Lyc. 139. *F.* || *χρημάτων.* Partitive gen. 4 after *συνευπορούντας.* — As 50, 72, *συνευπορίας ἀναλογάτων.* A. *F.* || *οἰκέας,* i.e. *ὡς δὲ, ut unus postulat.* Wolf. *In a friendly or cordial way.* J. And so Wst. || *τοὺς ὅπεροις τιναςούν, those of whatever sort; those represented as so bad;* since the forms with -ούν often involve a disparaging force. || *εὐθεῖαν, to flourish.* C.—*Εὐθε- νεῖν* “*vel, quod lonibus tribuitur, εἴθηγειν* ‘*tigorem et vitalitatem, εὐθενεῖν* *rōber declarat.* Et illud quidem maxime proprie de suo sanitatis et corporis incremento deque uberi provenit et aucta, sed non minus apte de prospere rerum publicarum privatrumque successu, deque omni ubertate et affluentia dicitur.” Lobeck. ad Phryn. p. 466. Cf. 19, 231: *τὴν πόλιν εὐθενεῖσθαι.* *F.* || *συν- εργάζομένης, co-operating with them.* || *ταῦτη, the latter.* So § 3, D, extr.: *ἴγε μὲν οἷμα τοῦτο.* C.—*ταῦτη*, i.e. *τὸ διασκ. καὶ διαφ.* F. || *εἴτε . . . ἀτα.* Expressing indignation at such inconsistency. Cf. Gr. 1358 (979) § 874, 6.

*τέθεν, whence, from what cause, = how.*

B

## § 5. [§ 21, p. 95.]

*έξετάσθαι.* Cf. Xen. Cyr. 6, 2, 35: *τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς τροφὴν δίεστα 5 οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ὀτλοφόρων ἔξετάσθε τοὺς ἵψ' ὑμίν αὐτοῖς.* Pl. Lach. 189, D: *ἴσως οὐ κακὸς ἔχει ἔξετάσιν καὶ τὰ τουαῖτα ἥμας αἴτοις.* Wst. || *τῇ πόλε, dpt on παρόντα.* || *εἴντοις, referring to πράγματα.* C. || *στρατεύεσθαι, sc. βουλόμεθα.* || *τῶν κοινῶν, e.g.* “*By the public property* is here meant that income of the state, which originally was intended to defray the expenses of carrying on war, but which is now expended as a Theôricon. The history of the theatre-money, which Demosthenes here seeks to apply to a different purpose, is as follows: After the thirty years' truce, which Athens had concluded with Lacedæmonia (Ol. 83, 4); 1000 talents were annually deposited in the treasury, with an understanding that they should remain untouched, unless the state were at any time threatened with imminent peril. This regulation was violated by Pericles. It had long been the practice, in order to prevent disputes and scrambling for places, to require from every citizen, as well as foreigner, an obolus as the price of admission. In order to relieve the citizens from this payment, Pericles proposed that, out of the fund set apart for contingencies, two oboli should be given to every Athenian freeman, one to pay for his seat at the theatre, and the other as a compensation for his loss of time. This plan was adopted, but without altogether diverting the reserve-fund from the purpose for which it was originally set apart. When, however, Apollodórus (Ol. 106, 4), many years afterwards, proposed that the fund should again be applied to the object for which it had been diverted by Pericles, a law was passed at the suggestion of Eubulus, imposing the penalty of death on any citizen who should thenceforward propose the conversion of the theatre-money into a war-fund, *μετα-*

(P. τοιίν τὰ θεωρικά στρατιωτικά." J. || τὰς συντάξεις, the necessary supplies from the public chest.

c τούτους is the dat. dpt. on ἵναντιουμένοις = τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἔξι λέγουσιν. || οὐκέ τί λέγω, I have nothing to say.—ri. Gr. 1366 (987) § 877, obs. 2, and 1372 (992).

## § 6. [§ 24, p. 96.]

6 Η . . . τιμώμαι, aut (i.e. si mendax deprehendar) quovis me suppicio dignum facio. F.—τιμᾶσθαι is not only the act of the accuser fixing the penalty which he thinks the accused should pay, but also that of the accused stating what penalty he thinks due to his offence. Gr. 893, fin. || Ἐρυθράσιον. "Cives Erythrae, urbis Ioniceas, dicit." F. || τούτων . . . λέγω. Cf. 19, 152: περὶ τῶν δὲ μειζόνων, λέγω δὲ Φωκίων καὶ Πυλῶν. F. || χρήματα λαβάνονταν. That is, for the support of their soldiers. These levies were called benevolences (*ébroiag*, see below), when made upon their allies. || ἀντ' οὐδενός, for nothing. For these benevolences they received in turn, as appears from what follows, protection to their commerce, &c.

## PAGE 27.

A ἄμποροις, merchants, traders. || παραπέμπεθαι, to be escorted. || τὰ τελάντα, and so on. "Seipius Demosthenes, ubi res aliquot enumerauit, hoc pronomen in cumulum addit, articulo nunc præposito, nunc omisso. Cf. Phil. iii. 49 [§ 9, c]." Soi. So in Lat. *reliqua, similia, cetera, omnia*, &c. are used (asyndetically) in summing up a series. Pr. Intr. ii. 210. || εὐστάσις, benevolences. See just above. || καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν, and so also in the present case. The second καὶ belongs to the νῦν. The first καὶ (enforced by δὴ) = et ita; et sic. Cf. Pr. Intr. ii. 397, 398. Kai δὴ has here what Hartung calls its force of lively and spirited annexation with added importance. Pr. Intr. ii. 281. || οἰσθείς . . . τρέψειν = will support or maintain. Gr. 1087 (830) § 405, obs. 2. || ἡ τὸν οὐρανὸν; from the skies? || οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, impossible. || προσωτέρη, before in addition, i. e. to the usual benevolences. || ἀπό, as in ζῆν ἀπό, &c., of the source or means by which a man supports himself, &c. || διάγει = διαζῆ, maintains himself (i. e. himself and his army); prop. he gets through, gets along. || προλέγουσιν, proclaim.

B οὐ . . . δεσμοτι = on the ground that he is going to be punished. || τὸν μελλόμαι, sc. ποιεῖν, for intending to do something.—Kai refers to the not giving him means; he not only, they argued, deserves no funds, but is, moreover, going to be punished. || μή τι . . . γέ, sedam, &c. Gr. 1481, § 721, 2. || τοῦτοι εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι, lit. their speeches are this (sc. which I have just described) = their speeches come to this ("this is the meaning of their clamours." L.). The persons alluded to are the enemies of Diopœithes; and the subject of their speeches follows. || μελλεῖ πολεμεῖν, i. e. some city or cities that refused him the money or provisions he applied for. || ἀκεβδωτοί, i. e. giving them up to his soldiers. "These words are rightly interpreted by Auger, as referring to the rapacity of the mercenary troops, and the acts of violence which they committed. Diopœithes, like Charles

and other generals, was in the habit, when he wanted money, of (P. extorting contributions from the maritime cities of Asia. Some-<sup>27.)</sup> times, as we learn from Demosthenes himself (Aristocrates), these leaders endeavoured to obtain possession of some Hellenic city, for the purpose of establishing a tyranny. Under such circumstances we may well suppose that the mercenary soldier was an object of hatred. Isocrates expresses his surprise, that such a description of force should be maintained at an enormous cost, merely, as it would seem, for the purpose of embarrassing the operations of the commander-in-chief. See note on *'Ἀράβαζος*, p. 67, c." J. || μηδεὶς γέρ τινι κ.τ.λ. The orator is here speaking. The indefinite *τις* is used in the sense of *many a one*: "for many of these good people are interested about," &c. He then exposes the hollowness of their pretended interest in the welfare of the Asiatic Greeks: *ἀμείσους εἰσιν*, sc. if they did this (*εἰ μίλοι, κ.τ.λ.*). *μήν τάν, μήν τοι ἀν* (*μήντοις ἀν*). || *ἀμείσους . . . κατέβοθας*, lit. (if they did) *they would be better hands at caring for*, &c.: on *ἀγαθὸς ποιεῖν τι*, cf. Gr. 1043 (809) § 666, iii. || *τό γε . . . εἰσαγγέλεων, and the sending*, &c.; i. e. the proposal to send another general, probably either to observe and check Diopeithes, or to force him to lay down his command. This proposal must have been put forward by the enemies of Diopeithes. || *τοῦτο' ἔστιν* here relates to what follows [Gr. 1012 (793, n. 8) § 656, 6, *cstr.*] = *really means this*. || *κατέγειτε*. See above, p. 93, D; 117, c. || *πινάκιον*, *small tablet*: i. e. a *citation* sent out to summon him to appear at Athens to defend himself against an *impeachment* (*εἰσαγγελία*). || *ταῦτα τοὺς ἄδι*. JN. *τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ταῦτα, those who commit (these =) such wrongs*. Gr. 946 (747) § 548, e, f. || *οὐ μὰ Δίᾳ . . . τριμέρεστ*, κ.τ.λ. "We must conclude from these words, that the adversaries of Diopeithes had required that a fleet should be sent out to the Hellespont to watch the movements of the accused." J.

*λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις* = *λαβεῖν ώστε εἶναι ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις*. We c should say, *to bring them under our laws*. || *θεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον δέστιν*, the first of a *moral necessity* or fitness, the second of the compulsory force of outward circumstances. || *εἰς τὸ ίῆρας αἴτοις, against ourselves* = *our own citizens*. || *ψήφισμα*, a vote of the popular assembly. || *εἰσαγγέλια*, *impeachment*. || *Πάραλος*. This *sacred vessel* was also used on many public occasions (and sometimes in war); especially to bring home state criminals. || *ἐπηρεασάντων*, here used absolutely, or with the *indefinite* reference, *ἄλλῳ τινὶ*, not *Διοπείθῃ*, for the expression is general. Wz. *'Επήρεια*, "malitiosa vexandi et nocendi cupiditas." Dissen. See note on *Or. de Cor.* § 7, b [my ed.]. || *δεινὸν δὲ οὐ δεινόν ἔστιν*, *though horrible is not horrible* (in the full sense of the word), but what follows is so. It may be construed *bad as it is, is not the worst*. || *ἄλλ' ἤματι*. Properly, in order to correspond to the preceding part of the sentence, we should have here *τὸ δὲ ὑμᾶς . . . οὐτως ἡδη διακεῖσθαι δεινόν ἔστιν*: but the construction is changed, in order to avoid expressing so unwelcome a truth, which is left to be inferred. C. With this structure cf. *Phil. ii. p. 20, D.* || *καθημένος*.

*Phil. Dem.*

(P. *sitting*, i. e. in the Assembly, and hence "hearing," which is the 27). meaning here. C.

D Ἀριστοφῶν. "Aristophon is mentioned, together with Eubulus and Diopethes, in the Orat. de Corona, with the addition of his surname, the Collytian, to distinguish him from the Azenian of the same name, who seems to have been no longer alive when this oration was delivered. A third Aristophon is mentioned as Archon Ol. 112, 3." J. But Aristophon the Azenian is the person meant according to F. and Wst. || φατὲ καὶ θορυβεῖτε, you assent with shouts of approbation that, &c. Cf. θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὄρθως λέγεται, Phil. ii. § 6. Gr. 1201 (893) § 800. || δτί, before a quotation given in its exact words. Gr. 1212 (897) § 802, b. || πράγμα, trouble, difficulty. || οὐχ ἔξετε ἀντιλέγειν, κ.τ.λ. Gr. 1177 (884) § 750, obs. 1. || ὥσπερ ἀπολλύνει τι, i.e. to lose Diopethes as an object whom they could visit with their vengeance, whereas Philip could not so easily be reached. || αἵτιον δὲ τούτων, κ.τ.λ. So in De Cor. § 108 [§ 45 my ed.], τὸ δ' αἵτιον τὸν τοῖς πίνησον ήν τὸ λειτουργεῖν. || ἔνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου ἔνεκα may either precede or follow its word, but, perhaps, more frequently follows it. C. || παρεσκευάζασιν ἦμας . . . φοβερούς = ὥστε εἶναι φοβερούς, proleptic acc., have rendered you formidable. Gr. 643 (523) § 439, 2.

## PAGE 28.

A δν ἴστε . . . αὐτοῖς, i. e. "si civis aliquis accusatur, qui eobis elabi non potest." Wolf. || φατὲ καὶ βούλεσθε, you say yes, and wish for him, i. e. wish to take and punish him. C. || δν κρατήσατας τοῖς ὅπλοις (sc. ίστι κολάσαι), ἀλλως δ' οὐκ ἔστι, lit. whom it is possible to punish, after you have conquered him by your arms, but otherwise impossible = whom it is not possible for you to punish, till you have conquered him by your arms. || ἔξελεγχόμενοι, sc. οὐκ ἔχοντες ὁ τι ποιῆτε. || τούναντον δὲ νῦν cf. 23, 128, τούναντίον η τάληθες ὑπάρχει. Wst. || δστι τὰ δίκαια, rights are decided.

B τρυφᾶ (luxuriari, insolencere), to play the great man, the fine gentleman. || κολακεύεσθαι = to get yourselves flattered, to receive flattery. || ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι, in state affairs, in your affairs. || ἐν . . . τοῖς γυγνομένοις, lit. in the things that are taking place = in your manner of dealing with the events of the day. || περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων . . . κινδυνεύει = "res mea in extremum discribent deductas sunt." || φέρε γάρ, for some: used like εἰπέ without reference to number; its horatory meaning having become almost adverbial. || λόγον, account. || ἕκαστοτε, on each occasion that occurs. || ἡς = πρός. Gr. 1418 (1025) § 626. || ἀνάγκη (sc. ίστι) begins the apodosis or consequence.

C ἀπογεομένον, has been from home, in Thrace. || μὴ ἐν δύνασθαι, would not be able, however requisite his presence might be. || τῷ Εὔβοιᾳ. "Philip having (Ol. 106, 3) landed troops on the island of Eubcea for the purpose of supporting Clitarchus against Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria, the latter applied to the Athenians for assistance. The bearer of this message was Midias, a friend and host of the tyrant, whose proposal was vehemently resisted by Demosthenes.

Notwithstanding, however, this opposition, a force was sent to Eubœa, (P. under the command of Phocion (Ol. 106, 4), who found, as we are 28). told by his biographers (Vit. Phoc. c. 12), the island full of traitors, and encountered many difficulties. Notwithstanding, however, these discouraging circumstances, he obtained a victory over the enemy at Tamynæ, and expelled the tyrant of Eretria, probably as a punishment for his treachery." J.—The liberation of Eubœa followed in the next year. *Wst.* || τῶν ὑπέρερα αὐτῶν αὐτῶν is gen. dpt on τῶν ὑπέρερα. The *nom.* would be *τὰ ὑπέρερα αὐτῶν.* || σχολὴν ἀγόντων, ὄγκαινόντων, in perfect ease and health; ironical, of course. || θέοι . . . πυράννους. "In Oreos Philip had established Philistines as tyrant by the aid of his mercenaries (see 3rd Orat. c. Phil.) and a short time before, by placing Clitarchus in Eretria, exactly opposite the Athenian coast, had converted the place into a bulwark against (ἐπιτείχισας) Athens. Skiathus is a small island situated north of Eubœa. No mention is made by any other author of a tyrant being established there." J. || ἐπιτείχισας = ἐπιτείχισμα παρασκευάσας, having fixed him, like a hostile fortress, just opposite Attica. || δέτι Σκιάθον, see last note but one. || δῆλον δέτι = plainly, evidently: = δῆλόν (ἔστιν) δέτι which, like (εὖ) εἰδέτι, is usually inserted parenthetically.

*κινήσεσθε, will stir.* || τί δροῦμεν ή τί φέσομεν, "quid dicemus D (respondemus) aut quid aiemus (affirmabimus)! Satie erat alterutrum verbum ponit, sed orator duo verba posuit, 'sive ut vim augeret interrogatiois, sive ut numeris auribusque consuleret. Cf. 21, 202: οὐδαμοῦ πώποτε Μειδίας τῶν συνηδομένων οὐδὲ τῶν συγχαιρόντων ξηράσθη τῷ δῆμῳ.'" Sch. Cf. § 35. || ἐγὼ μέν, I for one (perhaps others do). In such cases the corresponding adversative clause is sufficiently implied by the emphasis *μέν* gives the concessive clause, and hence is not expressed. There are two other cases in which *δέ* is omitted after *μέν*: either when the opposition is expressed by other adversative words, or when, by the insertion of intervening clauses or qualifying circumstances, the writer loses sight of the antecedent *μέν*, and consequently does not employ the corresponding *δέ*<sup>1</sup>. C.

## § 7. [§ 38, p. 99.]

τὸν παριόντα, him who comes forward, i.e. to address you: "a speaker." *Παριένται* is a verb. *proprium* to denote this. || οὐδὲ μὴν δὲλλά = veruntamen. This is a good example of the elliptical nature of the expression: οὐδὲ μὴν [τοῦτο ἀποκρινοῦμαι] δὲλλά . . . ἐρῶ. Cf. Gr. 1444 (1053, a) § 774, 6. || ἔπως . . . θελήσουσιν. Gr. 799

<sup>1</sup> "Alii fortasse viderint. Vid. ad 3, 8. Cf. § 59, 9, 15. 'Triplex vero hujus omissionis ratio videtur esse: nam aut prorsus omissum est membrum e sententiârūnexu supplendum, aut immutata orationis forma in iis ipsis quæ sequuntur inest sententia opposi-

ta, aut denique propter enuntiata cum eo membro, in quo μέν particula infertur, conjuncta illudque amplificantia orationis principium dicentis vel scribentis animo ex-eedit.' Mätzner ad Antiph. 2, 1, 7.

(P. (639) § 812, 2. In this *hortatory* formula the verb is generally in the 28). *second person.* || ὥσπερ . . . σέντο καὶ. Pr. Intr. ii. 384 (with the obs.). || γνῶναι, dpt. on χρῆ, borrowed from τι χρῆ ποιεῖν before.

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<sup>A</sup> τὴν εἰρήνην, the peace of Ol. 108, 2, which, though really broken by both Philip and Diopeithes, still nominally continued. || τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει, to the (very) ground on which it stands, i.e. he would not rest till its walls were levelled to the ground, and no city stood on the site which Athens had once occupied. Cf. τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐδάφων εἰς κίνδυνον μίγιστον ἀποκλείειν, 26, 11. || καὶ τοῖς . . . οἰομένοις. Καὶ = etiam. || Εὐθυκράτη καὶ Δασθένη. Cf. Or. de Cor. p. 13 (my ed.): μεχρὶ τούτου Δασθένης φίλος ὄνομάζετο ἵως προσδώκειν "Ολυνθον".—Observe προσδώκειν in this quotation, and προσδοσαν in our passage. Cf. Gr. 479, d, e (381, d, e). || ἀπολέλαστιν. Not both: for, according to Hypereides (Rhett. Gr. ed. Walz, 9, 547), Euthycrates survived the battle of Chæronea (Ol. 110, 3; 338). But D. may, by this certainly very strong expression, intend to denote only the abhorrence with which their moral turpitude was regarded throughout Greece. Wst. || τῇ πολιτείᾳ = our democratical (or free) constitution; to which πολιτεία, in its more restricted sense, was confined. || οὐδὲ δὲ τῶν πάντων ή τῶν ταῦτην καταλύσει: an hexameter, if we read οὐδὲ δὲ. || εἰκότως τρόπον τινά, naturally enough in some sort, i.e. from his own point of view.

<sup>B</sup> ἡ, sc. πταισματα, to be borrowed from the sing. πταιμα. "Cf. 18, 310: καὶ ἔδωκεν δὲ παρελθών χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κάγαθῳ, ἵνα οἱ οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανῆσι γεγονώς. Liv. 22, 57, 3: L. Cantilius, scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant. V. Porson, ad Eurip. Or. 910." F. || τὰ νῦν συμβεβιασμένα, those whom he has forcibly collected; "those whom he hath forced into his service." (L.) Since the verbs denote personal actions, we must use the masculine: but the neuter describes the persons, together with all their arms, resources, &c., as forming the power which Philip had collected by violence, and held together by violence. || λαβεῖν (sc. ἀρχῆν) καλύπτει. Gr. 1095, 4, § 664, extr. || καὶ ἔχοντι ἀφέλεσθαι = καὶ ἀφελέσθαι (ἀρχῆν) ἔχοντα (ἀρχήν). Cf. Gr. 958 (757) § 583. || δλως, omnino, in general. || ἐνοχλεῖν, to trouble, to harass. || οὐκονν = non igitur. Gr. 1495 (1058, o) § 791, obs. || τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐφεδρεύειν (τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς). The pupil must take care not to construe this as if it were τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐλευθερίαν, the liberty that is among you: it means, the liberty that is, or proceeds, from you. Wst. explains it, by the *constratio praegnans*, as = τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐλευθερίαν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐφεδρεύειν, that your liberty should go forth, as it were, and lie in wait to seize opportunities against him. But this is not necessary, since he has just spoken of the Athenians helping the other states to recover their liberty. Cf. Ol. 3, § 7, ἡν τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐμπόδισμα τι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ δυσχερές, πόλιν μεγάλην ἐφορμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς διηλαγμένη πόρος ημᾶς (F.), and 23, 173, καιροφυλακίν ἑαυτόν. || οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ = οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ (ἄλλα τοῦ πάντος); the force is far from it, οὐδαμῶς. It is a favorite

form of D.'s, e.g. Lept. § 20: φανήσεται γάρ οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ τῆς (P. γενησομένης ἀξιον αἰσχύνης. F. || ἀργῶς, properly in a *lazy, impractical way* (ἀ. ἔργον); *imprudently, unadvisedly*.

**κατασκευάζεται.** See above, p. 118, a.—Παρασκευάζεσθαι denotes c the preparatory providing of means, resources, stores, &c.; κατασκευάζεσθαι denotes the employment or application of these. || δε ὑπόλαμψάνει, as to conceive. Gr. 1248 (923) § 826, 3. || κακῶν, our wretched possessions. || Δρογγύλων. “The grammarians, who speak of Drongilus with reference to this passage, all place it in Thrace, with the exception of Stephanus of Byzantium, who calls it a Thessalian place, and cites Theopompus in support of his assertion. Cabylē is undoubtedly the same Thracian city which Strabo (vii. p. 320) calls Calybē, and places in Central Thrace. Of Masteira Harpocrate can find no notice in any author, and therefore proposes the conjectural emendation of Βάστιραν, Πίστιραν, or Ἐπίμαστον. All these cities he finds mentioned in the seventh book of the Philippic History of Anaximenes.” J.

τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀργυρεῶν, the silver-mines in the south-eastern district of Attica (Laurium, &c.). || μελινῶν μελινη, μέλινος (*Panicum miliaceum*. Sprengel), millet. || σιροῖς. “Quidam granaria habent sub terris, speluncas, quas vocant σιρούς, ut in Cappadocia et Thracia. Varro, R. R. 1, 57. coll. 1, 63.” F. || ἐν τῷ βαράθρῳ. “A comparison is here drawn between the uncultivated condition of Thrace (horrida Thracia, Catull. iv. 8), and the advantages enjoyed by Attica. The term Barathron is used in allusion to the pit at Athens, into which malefactors were thrown. The Thracians used to keep their stocks of grain in subterraneous caves (*σιροῖς*). The same practice prevailed amongst the tribes of the Caucasus (Curt. 7, 4), and the inhabitants of Cappadocia, whose corn-pits (*σιροὶ* or *σιροῖ*) are very minutely described by Varro, de Re Rust. i. 57.” J. || τούτων = τῶν λιπένων καὶ νεωρίων. || ἀνέκαστον, i.e. which is not likened to any thing else; unexampled.—ταύτην = this of yours. || ἀξιούν, sc. εἰσφ. χρῆμ. || δέποι . . . συμμενεῖ. Gr. 1313 (952) § 811.

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**συνεστηκός.** Cf. above, n. on § 3, c (p. 118). || βοηθεῖσι. Cf. Phil. A 1, 8, d, μὴ βοηθίας πολεμεῖν (νότερούμεν γάρ ἀπάντων), ε.τ.λ., where see the note. || ταμίας, commissaries. || δημοσίους, public officers or commissioners. || ὅποις ἐν . . . ἀκριβεστάτην, “quam fieri potest diligentissima,” &c.—ἐνι = ἐνεστι.

ὡς ἀληθῶς, in the true sense of the word. || εἰρήνην δικαίαν, in properly, *a just peace*. They were now nominally at *peace*, but it was a peace that was not founded on just conditions honorably observed on both sides. On the contrary, from the weakness of Athens, Philip was able to commit *any injustice* he pleased with impunity. We should say, *an honorable peace*. || ἀναγκάστε . . . ἡ πολεμήσετε = or at all events will, &c. Hand says: In ḥ—ἡ (as in aut—aut), the two members are equal; with a single ḥ, unequal (the ḥ = aut etiam); and there is generally a *descensus a maiore ad minorem*.

(P. Cf. Pr. Intr. ii. 349. || ἐξ ὑσου, *on equal terms*: since you, as well as 30). he, will have a standing army, well paid, and from funds of which the expenditure is properly controlled.

## § 8. [§ 48, p. 101.]

a πραγματείας, sc. πολλῆς, implied by the πολλῶν. || καὶ μάλα δρθῶς, i. e. δρθῶς καὶ μάλα δρθῶς, quite correctly. Gr. 1476, p. § 759, 1. || εὐρήσει λυστελαῦν (partcp. agreeing with the clause τὸ ἐκόντα ποιεῖν τὰ δύοντα). Gr. 1100 (843) § 684, ii. || τηλεκούστου πράγμα, dpt on ἔγγυητῆς understood. || πρόσθε (rather than προσθέτε), according to Göttling.

c τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει are the noble deeds it had done, and both the glory and power which it had thereby earned, and still, as it were, possessed. So de Cor. § 40, a. (my ed.): πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δεῖ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράγματα. || εἰρηκέναι, to have spoken, i. e. to have advised in a speech delivered by me. || οὐδὲ μὴν ἀλλ'. Gr. 1444 (1053, a) § 774, 6. || τοῖς ἀναδυόμεθα; quo nubterfugimus? = quid tergiversamus?

d θαν, ε.τ.λ. So Phil. i. § 10 [p. 3, B]: ἐπειδάν νη̄ Δι' ἀνάγκη γ. || θν . . . ἀνάγκην ἔτοι, what any free-born man would call a necessity. || ἀπεύχεσθαι . . . μὴ γενέσθαι. Gr. 1179 (885) § 749, 1.—δήπον, opinor. || & μήτε γένοιτο οὔτε . . . ἔξιον (sc. ἔστι). There is a similar connexion of an indicative clause with a wish below, in § 12, b (§ 68): ίγώ δὲ θρασὺς . . . οὐτ' εἰμι μήτε γενοίμην.

## § 9. [§ 52, p. 102.]

9 εἰπὼν ἀν τὴν ἡδόνας, καὶ δεῖξας, sc. ἀν = though I should like to relate and show you, &c. || ἐμπέσῃ, happens to be mentioned = λόγος ἐμπέσῃ περὶ τινος τῶν πρ. Φ.

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a ἀναβάλλοντι refers to the collective ric. || ἡσυχίαν . . . πράττειν. So ἀμετείν ἴζωνοι, Phil. ii. p. 7, b, and in this oration, ἀδεῖα λέγειν, below, § 11, c, extr. Gr. 1042 (809). || ἡ σχολή = your leisure; this leisure of yours: the freedom from service, &c., that you like, and purchase at any price. || δέδοιχ' δύτω μή ποθ' ἡγήσεσθε. Gr. 1380, d (995, d) § 814, 4, b (where it is improperly confined to Attic poetry). || ἐπὶ πολλῷ γεγενήσθαι, to have cost you dear. || αἱ χάριτες, sc. αἱ παρὰ Φιλίππου. || τούτων, objective, sc. τοῦ ἀναβάλλειν ὑμᾶς, ε.τ.λ. || δεῖν, one must. || τά γ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν . . . ὑπάρχειν, sc. οἶμαι.

b νομίζειν, sc. δεῖν. || καὶ τὸ . . . κωλυεῖν = καὶ δεῖν κωλύειν τὸ διαρκασθήσεσθαι τῷ εἰπεῖν φυλακήν. In 10, 56 the same words occur, except that the plainer term εὑρεῖν is there used for εἰπεῖν. Εἰπεῖν φυλακήν must be understood of the proposing measures of precaution. *Wet.* || ἀγανακτῶ . . . εἰ (nearly = δεῖ): hence οὐ (not μή) λυπεῖ. Gr. 1303, 7 (949, o) § 804, 7. || ἐφεξῆς, with reference to the several states of which Greece consisted, = one after another; each in its turn. || ἀφ' ὑμᾶς. Athens being the real object against which his final efforts would be made; for which final attack his present marauding expeditions were preparatory.

## § 10. [§ 56, p. 103.]

*τὸ αἴτιον . . . τὸ . . . εἰπεῖν*, as Phil. iii. § 14 (§ 63) : *τί οὖν ποτ'* (P. αἴτιον τὸ καὶ Ὁλυνθίους . . . ἡδονή πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγον-

31).

τας ἔχειν. Pl. Lach. 190, ε: ἀλλ' ίσως ἴγια αἴτιος, οὐ σαφῶς εἰπών, 10 τὸ σὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ τοῦτο διαινοούμενος ἥρόμην. *Wat.* || μηδένα c τούτων, of those who were playing into Philip's hands (§ 9).—*ταῦτα*, the points attacked by Philip. || *αἰτιάσθαι*, sc. *αἴτοις*, to be borrowed from μηδένα τούτων. || *διαδικαστία* (*discepiatio*), the struggle to anticipate the others, and to bring them to account, instead of being brought to account themselves. “*Διαδικασία* proprie eam causam significat, in qua duo eandem rem, v. c. hereditatem, petentes aut idem onus, v. c. *λειτουργίαν*, recusantes mutuo et certatim jus persequuntur, ac querentur, utri magis competit.” *V.*

οὐ γράψαντος, without any one's having proposed. || μὴ προστοιάσθαι, to pretend not.—Gr. 1172 (878) § 738, obs. 3. || εἰ τοῦτο ἐξελέγχοι, if he were to convince us of our error; were to force us, by his conduct, to acknowledge that we were at war with him, and must adopt active measures against him. || οὐ . . . οὐδέ, sc. φήσι. || Ὁρέτας. “See 3 Orat. c. Phil. p. 36 (top).” *J.* || *Φεραίοις*, Ol. <sup>108, 4</sup> <sub>109, 1</sub>, B.C. 344. || Ὁλυνθίους, Ol. 107, 4, B.C. 349.

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οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ισων. The others fought for their independence, <sup>A</sup> but Athens for her very existence, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰσχάτων. See above, n. on p. 122, B.

## § 11. [§ 61, p. 104.]

ὅς . . . οὗτος γιγνόσκειν. Cf. Gr. 1144 (867) § 702. 11  
*ἀποτυμπωντας* (*to cudgel to death*) οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι  
 ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῳ ἡ ἀπὸ τυμπάνου, ὃ ἐτοι ἔνδον διερ οὐκτάλην  
 καλοῦσι, τὸ γάρ ταλαιόν ἔνδοις ἀνήρον τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑστερὸν δὲ  
 τῷ ξίφῃ. *Ei. Mag.* No one would have ventured to use such severe  
 language as is used here and in many other places by Demosthenes,  
 against a class of his fellow-citizens, unless there was very strong  
 evidence of their corruption, and he was conscious of carrying along  
 with him the convictions of the majority of his hearers. *C.* || *πόθεν*,  
*whence? on what ground? why?* || *οὐδὲν . . . τοῦτο*. The speaker  
 adds this, apparently, to justify the peculiar use of *ὑβρίζειν*, c.  
 acc. (= *to maltreat, insult, trample on a man*). Cf. Luc. Solœc. 10:  
 ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὁ ὑβρίζειν τὸ σῶμά ἔστι τὸ οὖν, ἣτοι πληγαῖς ἡ δεσμοῖς  
 ἡ καὶ ἀλλῳ τρόπῳ, τὸ δὲ εἰς σέ, θταν εἰς τι τῶν σῶν γίγνηται ἡ  
 ὑβρίς. || εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, if nothing else; at least. It is true the  
 condition of the others was not really much better, yet at least  
 Philip for the present disguised it to them, and really granted them  
 this or that advantage (ώστε καρπωσάμενοι, ε.τ.λ. just below, c).  
 || *οἱον Θετταλοῦς*, ε.τ.λ. “In the 4th year of the 105th Olympiad, the  
 nobles of Thessaly applied to Philip for protection against the three

(P. brothers of Thebe, who, after the assassination of Alexander of Pheræ 32). (Ol. 105, 2), had seized on the government. By the overthrow of these tyrants, Philip acquired immense influence in Thesealy, the resources of which country were placed entirely at his disposal (Diodor. 16, 14). The Phocian war rekindled the hopes of the ejected tyrants. Lyco-phron, supported by Onomarchus, commander-in-chief of the Phocians, entered Thessaly, but was defeated by Philip and compelled to retrace his steps. Onomarchus was more fortunate, being several times victorious. The war having been renewed, Philip, who had been nominated leader of the Thessalians, defeated the enemy, and took the cities of Pheræ, Pagasæ, and Magnesia ; for the benefit, as he pretended, of his allies, but in all probability solely with a view to his own interest." J. || δοῦ. An extension of acc. cognate sign. Cf. πόσα ἐξητάγθε just below. || Πορίθεαν. "When Philip was besieging Amphipolis (Ol. 105, 3), the Olynthians sent ambassadors to Athens to propose an alliance with that state : but this plan was frustrated by Philip, who wrote to the Athenians, informing them that his object in besieging Amphipolis was to obtain the city for his good friends the Athenians (Or. c. Aristocr. p. 116). He not only, however, retained possession of the town, but even seized on Potidæa, and only surrendered Amphipolis (in fulfilment of his engagement) on condition of Pydna being placed at his disposal. This secret treaty was negotiated with Antiphon and Charidēmus, who were sent as ambassadors to Philip. Potidea, a Corinthian colony, several times fell into the hands of the Athenians : on the last occasion it was taken by Timotheus (Ol. 104, 1. Diodor. 15, 81). A few years later it was restored by Philip to the Olynthians, of whom it had been a dependency at an earlier period." J. || πόλλα' ἔπειρα, sc. δούς. Cf. § 5, init. Wst. || ὑπάγει, he is bringing under his influence ; is deceiving. C. || Βοωτίαν, that is, the country around Thebes : the controul of the towns and villages of Boeotia, which, properly, were independent of Thebes. C. || ἀπαλλάξας πολέμου. "Several of the Boeotian cities (Coronæ, Orchomenus, and Corsæ), which had joined the Phocians at the commencement of the Sacred war, were delivered up to Thebes by Philip, or, as Demosthenes expresses it (Or. de F. Leg. 14), abandoned to slavery, when the war was at an end. The inhabitants of Orchomenus were permitted by the conqueror to seek an asylum at Athens ; but this act of clemency was vehemently condemned by the Thebans and Thessalians." J. || πολέμου, that is, the Phocian war, to which the Thebans were one of the principal parties. See note on De Coron. § 18 [§ 9, c, my ed.].

c τίνα . . . πλεονεκτῶν, some unjust advantage. || διαν, lit. when at some time or other it happens = at his own time, or when their time comes. || ἐν αὐτῷ . . . ποιήσασθαι, that is, the peace which they made with Philip at the close of the Amphipolitan war, Ol. 108, 2, B.C. 346. See the chronological table. C. || πόσα. Cf. δοῦ ἐξητάγθε just above. || Πύλας. He passed Thermopylae during the negotiations for the peace, and thus secured the conquest of the Phocians (see De Coron. § 33 [§ 13, n] sqq.). These acc. depend upon ἔχει, below. C.

|| τὰ δὲ Θράκης, *places on the skirts of Thrace* (Grote); *the coast of P. Thrace*. These he took during the negotiations concerning the peace. 32). See De Coron. § 69 [§ 25, d]. C. || Δορίσκον, Σέρριον. "The cities of Doriscus and Serion were taken by Philip, whilst the Athenian embassy was waiting for him at Pella, for the purpose of receiving his oath, and when the Athenians considered the peace as already concluded." J. || Κερσοβλέπτην. The Thracian prince Kersobleptes, who was allied with Athens, was suddenly attacked by Philip, and deprived of a considerable part of his dominions, whilst the negotiations about the peace were going on, and after the Athenians had already sworn to observe it. Wst. || ὅμολογεῖ, sc. ἔχειν. || ὡμάν, dpt on προσφέρεται, || ἀδεια ... λέγειν. Cf. n. on ησυχίαν πράττειν, § 9 (init.), p. 126.

οὐκ ἄν. Gr. 790 (632) § 858, 3. The omission of the *ān* represents it more vividly as an objective fact, though it is really a conditional statement. || τὰ Φιλίππων, *the affairs or interests of Philip*. C. || μὴ σύν... καρποῦσθαι, unless the great body of the Olynthians had been benefited in common (*sύν*) by enjoying Potidaea. Μή is used instead of *οὐ* here, because the partcp., when resolved, makes a conditional sentence (*unless they had, or if they had not*). C. || μηδὲν εὖ πεπονθότας, the partcp. to be resolved conditionally: hence μηδέν. || τῷ τούς... Φιλίππων, by Philip's having expelled the tyrants for them, i. e. the tyrants of Pheræ. C. || τὴν Πυλαίαν, the Amphictyonic meeting; properly that at Pyla (Thermopylae), but extended to that at Delphi. || ἐπιτείχισμα. See n. on § 6, p. 123, c. || παρίστρος. "Propius ad Byzantium accedere, scilicet, ut occupet." R. We must understand the assertion of the preparatory steps; the opening of the direct attack did not take place till the next year. Wst. He was then on his expedition to Thrace, and in the vicinity of Byzantium. C.

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τούτων. "His bonis, quibus modo dixit civitatis divitias effici." A F. || πλούσιοι. Cf. Ol. 3, 29: ὃν οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν, ε.τ.λ. We find in all these speeches complaints of the traitors in every part of Greece, to whom, according to Demosthenes, Philip was indebted for his successes." J. || τίστιν, εὔνοιαν, which the state meets with from others (its allies). Wst. || τῶν ἀνέστιν ἀθεσνίᾳ. "Vilitatem annonae et copiam intelligo, quae populo gratiior est quam decus et laus." Wolf. Athens, as might be supposed from its position, was a great emporium for trade. See Böckh's Publ. Econ. Ath., bk. i. ch. 9. C. || ἐν προσῆκε = τῇ παρασκευῇ τούτων ἐπροσῆκε παρασκευάζειν. Cf. 10, 49.

οὐ δύνανται... ησυχίαν, that is, not to be merely passive. They in actually assailed the character of their enemies, as, for instance, that of Demosthenes, in what follows. C.

## § 12. [§ 68, p. 106.]

εἴτα, then, accordingly; i. e. when they could no longer keep quiet. 12 C. || παρελθόν, that is, to speak in the assembly. || εὖ γάρ. The γάρ refers to a suppressed thought, in which the speaker main-

(P. tained his right. || κυθενάσαν. Since he who brought forward a proposal in the assembly was personally responsible for it. || οὐτ' εἰμὶ μήτε γενόμην, *I am not, and may I never be.* See above, on § 8, d. Observe the use of the optative in expressing a wish, and the change of negative which it requires. C. || κρίνει, δημεύει, &c. r. λ. In the real order, κατηγορεῖν would be the first; but see § 6, c, and again, § 12, v, κατηγορεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ δημένειν, where χαρίζεσθαι = διδόνειν here. The giving away of the confiscated property should follow δημένειν. *Wst.* These words are thrown together without any regard to their natural order, to express the varied and hurtful employment which the advocates of the cause of Philip pursued at Athens, in *trying, confiscating, bribing, &c., those engaged in public affairs.* C.

c τολλὰ . . . ἐναντιοῦται = πολλὰ ἐναντιώματα ἐναντιοῦται. *Wst.* || ἐν τῷ . . . λογισμῷ, in which fortune has the control of more things than calculation; that is, a bold decided policy, involving war if the case demanded it, and hence giving scope for innumerable casualties. C. || ή τύχη, not blind chance, but the *Fortuna* (quæ) fortis adjuvat, as a general rule, though she is notoriously inconstant. Dem. declares for the policy which, in a great crisis, knows it must risk something upon the fortune of war. || καὶ χρήστος τολίτης, and a good citizen. The opp. is ἀχρηστος (*inutilis*): οὐ γάρ ἀχρήστους αὐτὸς εὑρίσκετε πολίτας. Is. 7, 37. || τῆς τερπ . . χάριτος, gen. of price after ἀπολωλεκότες (*having ruined; bartered away*). C. || τοσούτον δέω ζηλοῦν, *I am so far from envying.* Gr. 1071 (822, a) § 676, 2, a.

d σὺ δὲ. Gr. 1458, t, § 479, 5. || διμέν, dat. *ethicus.* Gr. 923 (728) § 602. || χωρηγίας. "The patriotic use which Demosthenes made of his property is again alluded to in the *Orat. de F. Leg.* and in *De Corona*, § 47, c, d. The most detailed account of the manner in which he voluntarily spent a great portion of his fortune in embellishing the public festivals, and fitting out ships of war, is given in the *Orat. c. Mid.* § 154, sqq." J. || φιλανθρωπίας, *humanitatis officia*, Sch. Thus, generally, the plur. of abstracts expresses instances, conditions, &c., of the quality. C. || δυνάμενος ἄν, though I should be able (if it were necessary). || ἐφ' . . . ἐμαυτὸν ἔταξα, did I place myself at? did I devote myself to? See *De Coron.* § 62 [§ 24, c]: δὲ γάρ ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ τύχα. C. || προτίχηην. Understand τάπτειν ἐμαυτὸν. C. || πολλῶν, those who were careful to please the people in what they said and proposed. C. || μεῖους, sc. η νῦν ἔστε.

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▲ οὗ ἄν, by means of which. || ἐψὼ μέν, that is, *I, the proposer.* He introduces himself as an example, merely to illustrate the case. C. || τῶν ἀλλων ὕστεροι, *the last; or after all the rest.* On this pleonastic use of ἀλλος cf. Gr. 1516, 25, b (777) § 502, 3. So in Latin: *ii ceterorum Britannorum fugaciissimi.* Tac. Agric. 34. In English, also: fairest of her daughters Eve. Milton. C. || βαδιεῖται, will go; will be sure

*to go; always goes.* What is called the aoristic use of the fut. C. Cf. (P. 18, 205: ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονίδοις μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς 34). εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει καὶ φοβερότερας ἡ γῆστεται τὰς ὕβριες . . . τοῦ θανάτου. Cf. Mätsen. ad Antiph. 3, 3, 4. F.

## § 13. [§ 73, p. 108.]

λέξω . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψωμαι. Cf. ἵρω . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψωμαι, Phil. ii. p. 7, c. || τοῦ συμβουλεύοντος, possessive gen., dpt in on *τίνας*. || Θερβαῖα. “In the third year of the 105th Olympiad, the inhabitants of Euboea, among whom a civil war had broken out, applied for assistance, the one party to the Athenians, the other to the Thebans. Many skirmishes and insignificant engagements took place, in which the Athenians and Thebans were alternately successful, but no decisive battle was fought. At length the two parties, after losing several men on both sides, concluded a peace with one another: and the Boeotians returned to their own country (Diodor. XVI. 7). The privilege of an independent government (autonomy) was granted to the citizens of Euboea by the Athenians. See Böckh's Ec. of Athens, 2nd part.” J. || λέγων, in speaking. C. In the course of his speech. Wst. || εἰσι. Cf. Gr. 651 (535, d) § 390, 2, a. || ἔφη. Not unfrequently repeated thus after εἰπέ, in earnest appeals. See Xen. Mem. i. 4, 2, et passim. C. || χρῆστοθε, sc. αὐτοῖς.

ὅς οἶδε τε, sc. εἰπέν. || δούτερος εἰσι, as he really did. || περί, c. absolute, with respect to, as Ol. 1, § 11 [p. 4, B], καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ε.τ.λ. || τὰ δὲ . . . λέγων = τὸ δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐπιστήμη (= ὡς οὐ & ἐπισταται) λέγειν. Wst.

## § 14. [§ 76, p. 108.]

τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν = τὸ συνιστηός στράτευμα above, 14 n. on § 3, c. || ἐπανορθώντας . . . καταλύοντας, agree with the subject of συνίχειν (correcting; not destroying). C. || δύναμις, “ob ea, quaeque sunt, quis quis incaet.” F.

τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι, those who take a prominent part in public affairs; public men. || διρροδοκοῦντας, if they receive bribes; allow themselves to be bribed. || πανταχοῦ, not only at Athens. Philip had his creatures every where. Wst. || δύναμις, because unattended with danger from the traitors. C. || τοὺς πρέγμασι χρῆσθε, you apply yourselves (vigorously) to your affairs. In Ol. 1 (prop. init.) πράγμασι χρῆσθαι = to avail oneself of circumstances. || γένοντο, sc. τὰ πράγματα. || ἔχει τοῦ, ε.τ.λ., showing your hearty zeal so far as applause and praise goes, but no further.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE THIRD PHILIPPIC.

<sup>A</sup> THE same year in which Demosthenes spoke on the affairs of the Chersonese (Ol. 109, 3<sup>1</sup>), and probably a few months after the delivery of that Oration, he again came forward to address his fellow-citizens on the necessity of a war with the king of Macedonia. Philip was still actively engaged in Thrace, and approaching, by a succession of easy conquests, to the shores of the Propontis and the walls of Byzantium, where he had for a long time been endeavouring to secure an entrance by the means which he usually employed for the attainment of such objects. About the same time he chastised the Peparéthians (who had taken forcible possession of Halonésus), threatened the Chersonese, and extended his influence on every side. The immediate occasion of the assembly, at which this Oration was delivered, is not known. From the speech itself we merely gather, that its object was to persuade the people to protect the Hellespont, <sup>B</sup> anticipate the designs of Philip on Byzantium, check his ambitious career, and vindicate the claims of Athens to the name which had been won for her by the labour and the blood of former generations<sup>2</sup>. The anxiety of the orator was occasioned not so much by any apprehensions of Philip's growing power, as by distrust of his own countrymen. The carelessness exhibited by the Athenians on the very brink of danger excites in his mind a generous indignation, which pervades the whole of his speech. At the very commencement he assails these unprincipled flatterers who had lured the people to destruction by their misrepresentations, and banished freedom of deliberation from the public assemblies. After describing the dangers to which the Athenians are exposed on every side, he goes on to reassure his hearers, by speaking of the happy results which would be almost

<sup>1</sup> Under the same Archon (Sosigenes) Demosthenes delivered his tenth (Philippic) Oration, in which he endeavours to prove that Philip has been the first to violate the conditions of peace, and commence the war. Dionysius, Epist. ad Amm. p. 758.

<sup>2</sup> Winiewski, Comm. Hist. p. 176, thinks it probable that the occasion of this speech was the arrival of letters, or an embassy, from the inhabitants of the Chersonese, entreating pecuniary or other assistance.

sure to follow a change of policy. He censures the criminal supineness of those who, for the sake of enjoying a little longer the imaginary blessings of an insecure peace, are content to await in drowsy inactivity the bursting of a storm which will overwhelm them with destruction, and proves that the people have no longer any choice between war and peace. It would be absolute folly any longer to judge of the king's intentions by his words, rather than his actions, now that so many terrible examples have taught them that his practice has ever been to soothe his victims with fair promises until he is prepared to strike. And this cautious, this treacherous policy, he is now pursuing towards Athens. Since the peace every act of his has been perfidious and malevolent, a step towards his grand object, the destruction of Greece : and yet, although actually engaged in preparations for the attack, he has had the audacity to disavow his hostile intentions. Under such circumstances, not a moment is to be lost : there is scarcely time even for deliberation, when immediate action is required. To stimulate their flagging resolution, he contrasts the unhappy facility with which every thing is now conceded to Philip, with the lofty patriotism of those who, in former days, knew how to restrain within due bounds the ambition of their powerful neighbours. And yet the aggressions which they attempted were insignificant, compared with the insolent incroachments of a Macedonian, a foreigner, who dares to ill-treat the inhabitants of Greece, and wrest from them their dearest privileges. The causes of this unhappy policy may be found in the indifference with which Athenians now regard even the most flagrant offences, and the covetousness which at once finds an excuse for its own acts of dishonesty, and encourages in others a system of the most shameful robbery and corruption. With such sentiments as these he contrasts the sturdy opinions of the olden time, when bribery was punished with the most inexorable severity. This must be again the feeling of every Athenian citizen, if we would inspire other states with respect for our institutions, or even hope to enjoy the fruits of our own exertions. Another cause of this culpable indifference is the mistaken notion, encouraged by some of our orators, that Philip after all is not so formidable an enemy as some would represent him ; since much more terrific wars, with Lacedæmon and other Grecian powers, have terminated favorably for Athens. In reply to this argument, Demosthenes shows, that the art of war has undergone a total change since those days, and that Philip, in consequence of his position, enjoys many advantages, which it would be well for us to mark, and adopt such measures as may be most effectual for neutralizing them. But the best and surest mode of defence is to resist the attempts of those within the walls, who have been bribed by Macedonian gold, to betray the interests of their country ; and instead of foolishly delighting in their calumnies, to aid your honest fellow-citizens in their praiseworthy struggles for freedom of debate. When we remember the fate of those nations which had already submitted to Macedonia, we cannot wonder at our orator's frequent recurrence to the story of their fall. He is holding up to his fellow-citizens the

*Phil. Dem.*

**A** mirror of history. Examples were close at hand of states which had lost their freedom, because their citizens had listened to the words of the flatterer, who promised them ease and tranquillity, rather than to the voice of duty, of honest admonition, and of severe but wholesome censure. But prosperity and ease are the reward of action, not the fruits of idle day-dreams. He who deems mischance impossible, is already on the brink of destruction; and the man who, for the sake of avoiding an evil, shuns the performance of his duty, will repent him of his supineness when repentance can no longer avail. The speech concludes with a proposal, that reinforcements should be sent out to the Chersonese, preparations set on foot for a general armament, and application for assistance made to the king of Persia and to the other states of Greece.

**B** The immediate results of this speech are not known. But when, in the following year, some of the orator's predictions were fulfilled, in the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium by Philip (Ol. 110, 1), Athens exhibited such activity as completely frustrated his attempts. About the same time, and before the investment of Byzantium by Philip's army<sup>3</sup>, troops were sent a second time from Athens to Eubœa, under the command of Phocion, who expelled the Macedonian garrisons, deposed the tyrants protected by Philip, and re-established the influence of Athens in the island<sup>4</sup>. During this period we find the king of Persia also among the enemies of Macedonia. Considering all these circumstances, it is highly probable that the efforts made by Athens for the attainment of these objects were the result of our orator's eloquence, and the fruits of his *Oratio de Cherson.*, and the present Philippic.

<sup>3</sup> *Or. pro Corôna.*

<sup>4</sup> *Diodor. 16, 74.*

## NOTES

TO THE

### THIRD PHILIPPIC.

PAGE 35, § 1. [§ 1, p. 110.]

δέκιον δέιν. Gr. 1520, 6 (684) § 864. || τὴν εἰρήνην, the peace (P. of Ol. 108, 2, about which see the Introd. to the Speech on the Peace, 35). || φησάντων . . ἄν. Gr. 1155, a (653, a) § 429, 3: the conditional 1 clause (*if they were formally asked, or the like*) omitted. || εἰ καὶ μὴ οὐκοῦσι τοῦτο, even though they do not do so, i.e. do not say it. Ήσσι, like our *or to do*, is used as the representative of a preceding verb. Thus 21, 207: εἰ δὲ ἀπορεῖς ικείνως με κακῶς ποιῆσαι, εἴη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο σημειόν τῆς ἡμῆς ἐπικείσας, εἴ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρδίως ερίνων ἔμι μηδὲν ἔχεις ἵψει τοῦτο ποιῆσαις. *Wd.* || οὗτος . . παύεσθαι. Gr. 1313 (954) § 811. || εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγράψα, ε.τ.λ., “*eo sensim et per sociorum centrum venisse*” (*have been gradually brought, &c.*). 23, 173: συμβαίνει τοῖς χρόνοις εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγράψα τὰ πράγματα ἦδη . . ὅστε ἴβοσθοῦμεν. *F.* || εἰπεῖν, to say (what follows, εἰ καὶ, ε.τ.λ.). || εἰ καὶ λέγειν, ε.τ.λ. The *kai* does not belong to the *ei*, but is a responsive particle to the following *kai*. Observe the *asyndeton*: λέγειν διπάντες . . χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς. || οἱ παριόντες = those who come forward to speak; the orators. || έμμελλε = were likely; would be sure to.

ταρά’ ἐν οὐδὲ δύο, from any one cause, nor yet from two. The παρά in properly denotes an equal and parallel extension of the two notions. See my note on Or. de Coronā, p. 166. || ἐν οἷς . . ταῦτα φυλάττοντες, upholding the present state of things, to which they owe their reputation and influence. || τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πράγματος δύτας, “qui in republica gerenda versantur (v. ad 2, 12), i. q. τοὺς ἵτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντας (summae rerum praefectos) s. τοὺς ἵν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας, § 11.” *F.* || οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν, id agunt, ut civitas de se (de civibus suis, non de Philippo) ρωμας sumat. *F.* || περὶ τοῦτο δύσται, i.e. περὶ τοῦτο σκούδασται. *F.* || πολιτεῖαι here = the methods of our statesmen (*L.*); political measures, πολιτεύματα. Another instance of the plural of an abstract noun, denoting particular instances, and manifestations of the abstract notion. So φλανθρωπίας, de Reb. Cher. § 12, d; and 25, 36, φλανθρωπίαις καὶ γύγναις γίγνονται.

καὶ . . τῶν ἄλλων, in other matters; on other subjects. || καὶ τοῦς c

(P. ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις. “The Athenians piqued themselves upon 35). being the most independent and most humane of all people. With them a stranger had liberty of speaking as he pleased, provided he let nothing escape him against the government. So far were they from admitting him into their public deliberations, that a citizen was not permitted to touch on state affairs in the presence of an alien. Their slaves enjoyed a proportionable degree of indulgence. The Saturnalia, when they were allowed to assume the character of masters, was originally an Athenian institution, and adopted at Rome by Numa. At Sparta and Thessaly, on the contrary, slaves were treated with such severity, as obliged them frequently to revolt. The humanity of Athens had its reward, for their slaves did them considerable service on several occasions; at Marathon, in the war of Egina, and at Arginusse.” *Tourcet.* || ἐν μὲν ταῖς . . . κινθυνεύεται: we had the very same words in *Or. de Chers.* p. 28, B.

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A ξτοιμος. Gr. 633 (516) § 376. || καὶ γὰρ εἰ, here = *nam etiam si.* Gr. 1476, t (1053, h) § 786, obs. || δύστιν = *it is possible.* || τὸ χειριστον, κ.τ.λ. “Compare the opening of the 1st Phil. (§ 2), where the orator employs the same phrase.” J.

B νῦν δι. Gr. 1485, a (1053, m) § 719, 2.

## § 2. [§ 8, p. 112.]

2 ἐφ' ἡμῖν. Gr. 1424, 4 (1031, 4) § 634, b. || τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα. *Taῦta*, the assertions just made, i.e. that the city may have peace, and that it depends upon ourselves whether we will have it or not. || πράττειν = *to act with vigour* (*id agere, &c.*). || φενακίζειν, *decipere.* See n. on *Or. de Cor.* § 17, d. || ἔτερος, *another.* He puts the case generally.

c προβάλλει, “*projicit s. pretendit, quo vos securos consopiat, contra προβάλλεται pretendit, quo se aduersus vos tueatur* (cf. 4, 40).” F. || οὐδὲ διαφέρομε (non repugno), *I hate nothing to say against it.* “The meaning is, Philip pretends to be at peace, when in reality he is making war on us. We must resist him. But if you desire still to retain a nominal peace, you are at liberty to do as he has done; i.e. to pretend to be at peace, but in reality to wage war.” J. || ταῦτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει. Gr. 716 (562) § 453, b. || ἐξ ἣς, *from which*, i.e. as its result. || ἔπειρα. Gr. 1467. § 766, 1. *And, secondly, the peace which he talks about is a peace observed towards him by you, but not towards you by him* [lit. *is a peace to him from you, &c.*]. || τὴν εἰρήνην, sc. οὐσαν, i.e. ἡ εἰρήνη, ἦν λέγει, *ἰστιντι παρ ὑμῶν τοτιν, οὐχ ὑμίν παρ ἰστινον.* F. || τὸν ἀναλυσκομ. χρημ., gen. pretii. || αὐτὸς . . . πολεμεῖν = *τὸ αὐτὸς πολεμεῖν, κ.τ.λ., erogētical inf. defining τοῦτο.* Gr. 1051 (812) § 669, β, γ.

## § 3. [§ 10, p. 113.]

3 καὶ μήν. Gr. 1482 (1053, l) § 728, c.

D τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων . . . στάδια, i.e. he said it *then*, but *not till then.* || δυοῖν θάτερον. Gr. 829 (669) § 579, 4. So 19, 176:

*εἴτα τῶν ἀλλων πρέσβεων ἔκαστον καλῶ καὶ δυοῖν θάτερον ἡ (P. μαρτυρεῖν ἡ ἐξόμυνσθαι ἀναγκάσω. F. || πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον 36).* (opposed *asyndetically* from the spirited abruptness of the narration to the *ἀπίχων*) = *at any other time; i. e. but at any time before that.* So Or. in Lept. § 16: *παρὰ δὲ ὅμην ἀδιές δὲ λόβῳ τις ἔχειν ὑπῆρχε, τὸν γοῦν ἄλλον χρόνον.* *Wst.* || *ἀγανακτῶν* agrees with the subj. of *εἴτε:* *he who used to be indignant and would send, &c., they must be considered as the participles of the imperfect (of an habitual action), and εἰ . . . αἰρίασαι opt. of indefinite frequency.* || *τοὺς ἀπολυηγορέαντες, to clear him from the charge.* Gr. 1128 (859). || *ἔριξον, contended, insisted.* || *οὐ λυστελήσαν, would not profit = would be an injury to.* The *οὐ* belongs to *λυστελήσαιν*, so as to convert its signification to the opposite. Gr. 1171. § 738, obs. 3. “When the intelligence reached Athens that Philip had advanced as far as the passes of Thermopylae, it was boldly asserted by Æschines that the sole object of this movement was the abasement of Thebes, and the restoration of their independence to the cities of Thespiae and Platææ. The people persisted in cherishing this delusive hope, notwithstanding the warnings of Demosthenes.” J.

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**ὡς νοσοῦσι.** “Philip had used the expression *ὡς νοσοῦσι* (which is applied to moral as well as physical disease) with reference especially to those states in which civil discord prevailed: and Demosthenes, as it appears to me, completes the metaphor for him by the addition of *τατοκεψομένους* (*to visit them as a physician visits his patients*). The additional words, *καὶ στασιάζουσιν* seem intended for an explanation of *νοσοῦσι*. After his successful campaign in Illyria, Philip marched against the tyrants of Thessaly (who, according to Diodor. 16, 69, had again raised their heads), and stormed the fortress of *Pheræ*, their principal stronghold. For an account of *Oreos*, see n. p. 123, c. Orat. de Rebus Cherson.” J. || *εἴτε.* Gr. 1358 (980) § 874, 6. || *καὶ . . . ταῦτα, and that too.* || *ταῦτα, here, as long as; below, until.* On *ἴως ἀν* c. subj. cf. Gr. 1263 (931) § 843, 3. || *οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα non ita est: not so.* || *τὸν ἀδικούμενων ὑμῶν, whilst you the injured party.* ‘*Εκτίνος* is expressed to sharpen the antithesis to *ὑμῶν*.

‘*ὑμῶν αἴτρων, dpt on τινας.* || *τὸν λόγους, ea verba, quibus eos in remorantur, i. e. facultatem ea dicendi.*” F. || *ἀφθονοτο, should put a stop to, lit. should deprive them (of the power of using these arguments, by conduct that would so palpably give them the lie).*

## § 4. [§ 15, p. 14.]

‘*ῷ πρὸς τοῦ Διός ὡς πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, pro deum fidem, 21, 98. F. 4 || μᾶλλον ἡ τὸν πραγμάτων. Gr. 1436, § 650. || δύναμιν. Gr. 1461 (1053, d) § 724, 2. || οὐδεὶς. Gr. 1493, f. § 776, 2.*

- *Δερίσκον.* “See n. p. 125, b, to Orat de R. Cherson. The assertion of our orator, that ‘Philip had already taken an oath to observe the peace,’ is not exactly in accordance with the truth. The Thracian campaign was ended, and Philip was already on his march to Phocia,

(P. when he took the oath at Pherse. (Or. de Fals. Leg.) The Athenian general mentioned here was Chares, to whom Kersobleptes had confided the defence of those places. (Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 267.)” J. Η τούς δὲ Σερβίους = τοὺς ἐν Σερβίᾳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Gr. 1435 (1039) § 647. Ἡ Ιεροῦ βρύση, a hill with a castle upon it, on the Thracian coast, near the point where the Hellespont enters the Propontis (Xen. An. 7, 1, 14). Wst. || ταῦτα πράττων τι ἔπολα; and when he was acting thus (or effecting these purposes of his), what was he doing? = what was it that he was doing? [are we to call his actions peace or war?] || τι δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπολιν; This is a supposed objection to the speaker’s assertion: what of that? what does that signify? With the sing. cf. Phil. i. p. 3, b: τι χρή τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι; || τῷ πόλει. “The loss of such unimportant places would seem hardly worth so much discussion, did we not remember that the question was one, not of political profit or loss, but of right, and therefore entirely independent of the magnitude or insignificance of the objects in dispute.” J. || εἰ μὲν γὰρ, κ.τ.λ. The εἰ is here a dependent interrogative; for whether, &c.—is another question (with which we have nothing to do here). Cf. 18, 44: εἰ δὲ μὴ γεθάνοντο, θέρος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἑκά. F. || ἀν τι . . . ἐν τε . . . σιε . . . σιε. Gr. 1466 (1049) § 778. || ἐπὶ μικροῦ. Gr. 1424, 4 (1031, 4) § 633. || βασιλεύεις. Gr. 673 (543) § 363, obs.

D οὐ πολεμεῖν, Gr. 1171. § 738, obs. 3, sc. αὐτὸν οὐ πολεμεῖν. || τοσούτου δέω. Gr. 1071 (822, a) § 676, 2, a, 3. || Μεγάρων. “The enterprise against Megara is mentioned in the Oratio de R. Cherson. p. 25, d. See also n. p. 141, c, to the present Oration. By the possession of this city the subjugation of Boeotia, and the government of Eubœa by his bribed adherents, Philip would be enabled to surround Athens as it were with a net. Cf. the Oratio de Fals. Leg. p. 446, 1, where, as in the present Oration, the professions of Philip are compared with his acts.” J. || τυραννίδα, an abstract taken collectively. || ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. “See introduction to the second Philippic and n. p. 105, d, to the same Oration. The intrigues practised by Philip for the promotion of his interests in the Peloponnesus are alluded to by Demosthenes in the Oratio de Corona, p. 262, 2 [§ 32, c].” J. || ταξένη. Cf. Oratio de Coron. p. 251, 1 [§ 32, A].

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A εἰτα. Gr. 1358 (980) § 874, 6. || μηχανῆμα. He uses this term improprie to point out the similarity of this case, and that of the man who should have placed his μηχανῆμα against a city about to be assaulted (in § 4, d). || ἄφ' ής ήμ., i. e. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ήμ., ὃ (Olymp. 108, 2. Scirophor. 23. June 20, B.C. 346). F. || ήθη, at once. || τοῦθ'. It is placed first, because it belongs both to βούλησθαι and ποιῆσαι. F. || ἀφέστηκα, I dissent from. || θοκεῖ, it seems fit, right, &c. Hence δέῖ is not required.

B περὶ Χερβονήσου . . . οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου. Gr. 1493, f. § 776, 2. || μὲν . . . μέντοι. Gr. 1479, obs. || τούτοις, i. e. τοῖς Χερβονησίαις καὶ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις. F. || ἐν, qua de causa. || ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων, about the state of our affairs. || μετάχυτε τῶν

λογισμῶν, share them with me, and by implication use them. || εἰ (P. μὴ . . . ἀρά. F. translates it as if it were εἰ μὴ ἄρα, nisi forte: 38), but as following ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν I think εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλ. is *si non etiam reliquorum*; the ἄρα being *et videtur, that you may at least take some wise precaution for yourselves, if, as it seems, you do not choose to do so for the other states as well.* || αὖτε, hereafter; again.

## § 5. [§ 21, p. 118.]

μέγας . . . τῷδηται. The μέγας is *proleptic*. Gr. 643 (523) § 439, 2. 5 πρὸς αὐτούς = πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Gr. 1009, 1100 (791) § 654, 2.

|| ἐξ ἑκείνου, from the man he was, i.e. from his originally low state. c πονησθαί, the aor. inf., because the final result, the subjection or subject state, is contemplated, rather than the act of reducing them to it, ποιεῖσθαι. || συγκεχωρηκότας, sc. τοῦτο, the antecedent demonstrative to ὑπὲρ οὗ. || ἐφ ὑμῶν ἀρχαμένους, with you at their head. Gr. 1121 (852) § 696, obs. || καθ ἔνα . . . περιβόττεν . . . τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Τῶν Ἑλλ. is, by a sort of attraction, the partitive gen. after ἔνα, whereas we should rather expect τοὺς Ἑλληνας as objec. of the verb. So Phil. i. § 4, n: καθ' ἕκαστον τούτων διεξιών = ταῦτα καθ' ἕκαστον διεξιών. || λαποδητάν, like a common highwayman. Cf. Phil. i. 11, a: λαποδητῆς δες ἀποδένει τῶν παριόντων τὰς ισθῆτας. || ἑβδομή τριή καὶ τρία. “The seventy-three years are here reckoned from the second Persian war (Ol. 75) to the battle of Ἄγος-Potamos (Ol. 93, 3), where the feebly supported claims of Athens to the hegemony were annihilated by Lacedæmon. See Clinton de Principatu Athen, in the Appendix to his Fast. Hellen. p. 263. In the 3rd Olynthian Orat. Demosthenes speaks of forty-five years, meaning undoubtedly the period during which the Hegemony of Athens was undisputed, that is to say, from about Ol. 76, 4 (when the Greeks first sought the protection of Athens from Lacedæmonian tyranny) to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (Ol. 87, 2).” J.

τριάκοντα ἔτη δέοντα [Gr. 871, fin. (684, e) § 529, 1]. “This D period of twenty-nine years seems to be reckoned from the taking of Athens by Lysander (Ol. 93, 4) to the battle of Naxos (Ol. 101, 1), in which Chabrias was victorious. (See Clinton, Appendix vii. ad Fast. Hellen.) Sparta had reached the summit of her political importance in the 100th Olympiad, at which time Xenophon (Hist. Gr. v. 3, 27) writes, ‘At that period Lacedæmon was mistress of Thebes and the rest of Boeotia; the Corinthians were devoted to her, the Argives humbled, Athens deserted, the disaffected confederates punished: in a word, her power seemed to be established on a firm basis.’ These words are repeated by Diodorus (15, 23), with the addition, ‘Lacedæmon was at that time formidable to the whole of Greece on account of her Hegemony. Hence it was that the mightiest sovereigns, such as the king of Persia and Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, were anxious to secure the friendship of the Spartans, and conclude alliances with them.’ The manner in which Sparta abused this power is well known. ‘They made the continent of Greece a wilderness,’ says Isocrates (Symmachicus, c. 33), ‘ill-treated the inhabitants of the islands, annihilated the free

(P. states of Italy and Sicily, introduced a tyrannical form of government 38) everywhere, laid waste Peloponnesus, and filled it with war and confusion. Have they not deprived the Eleans of a portion of their territory, ravaged the land of the Corinthians, divided Mantinea, stormed Phlius (Ol. 99, 4), attacked Argos, done every thing, in a word, to deserve the severer lesson which they afterwards received at Leuctra? The defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra was the signal for general rejoicing throughout the whole of Peloponnesus; but this was soon succeeded by discord, uproar, and confusion. See Isocrates to Philip. c. 21." J. || λογχωτῶν = potentiā adepti sunt. Gr. 743 (597). Cf. "Ελληνος δέ καὶ τῶν παῖδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδε λογχούσαντων (having become powerful), Th. 1, 3. So ἀρξασι (just below) = having become the ruling power. || δ τι βούλοισθε. He used the second person, as immediately addressing the Athenians, though the Lacedemonians and Thebans are intended to be included. "Secunda autem persona, quum plura subjecta adsint, rite ponitur, quum is, quem alloquinur, nobis primus et proximus sit." B. || οὐδὲ ταλλοῦ δέ. See n. on de Chera, p. 29, b (extr.). || τισι, dpt on προσφέρεσθαι, to treat this or that state without due moderation: a mild way of stating the fact. || ἄρξασι. See note on λογχωσαν, just above. || πλεονάλιαν, less common in this sense than πλεονεκτίν, to manifest a grasping ambition, &c. Cf. 39, 14: καὶ τοὺς πάνυ δικιός ἔκστροτε, ὅταν πλεονάσωτι, ἐπορασθ̄ ὑμέis κοσμίους τοιεῖν. || τὰ κεθετηκότα διάνουν, i. e. by putting down free institutions wherever they obtained party, and substituting for them an oligarchical government.

## PAGE 39.

A τί δέ τὸς ἀλλού λέγειν; ἀλλ'. "Frequens est apud Demosthenem haec formula dicendi, quum transitus fit ad graviora. Cf. § 13. Weber, ad 23, 114." F. || ἀλλ' ἡμῖς αὐτοί, why we ourselves. || οὐδὲν δέ . . . ἔχοντες. "Resolve: οὐδέν δέν εἶχομεν, sc. εἰ καὶ ηβούλαμθα." F. || ωτὴρ ἐν = ὑπὲρ τούτων ἂ. For the facts referred to, cf. de Cor. § 96 [my ed. § 40]. || ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα. "Between the accession of Philip (Ol. 105, 1) and the delivery of this oration eighteen years had elapsed. But the splendid period of his reign did not begin until Ol. 106, 4, when he overthrew the tyrants of Thessaly. In Ol. 106, 1 his name was proclaimed among the conquerors at the Olympic games." J. || οἰς (= ἐν οἰς) ἐπωροῦσα, in which (Philip) has been making a figure (aliquid esse cœpit. Sch.). —ἐπιπολάζω, lit. I come to the surface, rise to the top, &c.; hence, I am in the ascendant, &c. On pres. = our perfect with have, cf. Gr. 740 (594). || Μεθόνην, i. e. the Thracian Methonē, in Chalcidice (in the siege of which Philip lost one eye). Apollonia, an Ionian colony in Mygdonia: both cities were allies of Olynthus.

B δέ τοι, the Chalcidian cities that were dependent on the Olynthians. || προσελόντε, sc. τινά. || τὰς πόλεις, Pagasæ and Magnesia. || τετραρχίας. See note on οἱ Θετταλοι, p. 106, and Buttmann in Mythologus 2, p. 290. || κατέστησον. "Ne post παρήρεται offendat, recte aoristus cum perfecto jungitur, siquidem illas tetrar-

chias etiamtum manere needum abrogatas esse inter omnes con- (P.  
stabat. Cf. p. 45, c. Metzna, ad Lyc. 5. Weber ad 23, 178. Accedit 39).  
quod ea forma perfecti, quae h. l. apta foret (*καθίσταται*, quam e Dio-  
nysio recepit h. l. *Reitkunis*), serioris demum græcitatis est." F. // καὶ  
τέσσερι, because he had now divided them into four *districts*, and com-  
pelled each *district* to obey him. // θεολέσωσι. Gr. 1306 (954)  
§ 811. // καὶ τάντα, and that too. // εἰς τὰς ἑπ. γράφ. (i. e. writes  
into =) puts into his letters; or writes in his letters. // καὶ οὐ γράφει  
μάν, κ.τ.λ., i. e. οὐ μόνον γράφει τάντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιεῖ. Cf. § 12, B.  
15, 6. 18, 179: οὐκ εἶπον μὲν τάντα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ, οὐδὲ ἔγραψα  
μὲν, οὐδὲ ἐπρίσθινα δὲ, οὐδὲ ἐπρίσθινα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους.  
Auct. ad Herenn. 4, 25, 34. "Non sensi hoo et non suasi, neque suasi  
et non ipse statim facere coepi, neque facere coepi et non perfeci, neque  
perfeci et non probavi." F.

**Μεγάρου.** "The attempt made by Philip, in Ol. 109, 1, to obtain c  
possession of Megara, has been already noticed in n. p. 138, d. In  
the Oratio de Leg., which was written in Ol. 109, 2, it is spoken of  
as an event which had already taken place. This city was also filled  
with bribed partisans of the king of Macedonia, among whom we find  
the names of Ptaeodorus, Perilaus, and Heliæus. (Or. pro Corena,  
Or. de Fals. Leg.) The expedition against Ambracia happened about  
the same time. His attempts to obtain possession of this city and  
Leucas, for the purpose of invading Peloponnesus by sea, (as well as  
by land on the side of Megara,) were frustrated through the vigilance  
and activity of Demosthenes. Arcadia, Argos, and Elis were dis-  
tracted by party-struggles: in the latter city especially the citizens  
murdered one another for the sake of 'obtaining the ascendancy,  
and gratifying Philip.' (Or. de Fals. Leg.) The oligarchic faction  
having gained the upper hand, the democracy was dissolved, and an  
alliance concluded with Philip on such terms as justified the asser-  
tion of Demosthenes, that 'Elis was now in his power.' (Pausan. v.  
4, 9.)" J. // χωρᾶ, holds, contains, i. e. is sufficient for. Cf. 21, 200:  
ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν οὐ χωρεῖ. F. // Βιορρήγνεια κατὰ πόλεις, are con-  
fined as if by dykes in our several cities; are cut off one city from  
another. // οὐδὲ συντῆναι, no, nor to stand together; or to unite for our  
defence.

**περιόρθωμεν.** Gr. 1115 (846) § 687. // ἀγνοεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ. having D  
each of us resolved, as it seems to me, to gain the time during which an-  
other is destroyed (i. e. is being destroyed). — ἔγνωσαι = dovere.  
// ἔπεις συθήσεται. Gr. 1313 (954) § 811. // θεωρεῖ περίσθος η  
καταβολὴ περιστοῦ, the periodical access or attack of a fever. F.  
understands it of an *epidemic* fever, Wst. of an *intermittent* one. In  
F.'s way (which seems to suit the purpose of the illustration best)  
*περιόδος* is the course of a fever going through or round a district.  
Wst. explains it: every man, however far he may be removed from  
Philip, yet knows as certainly that he will be attacked by him in  
time, as a person who has an *intermittent* fever knows that, however  
well he may be to-day, he will be attacked to-morrow by the return-  
ing fever. The *language* seems to favour this way of understanding  
the passage. // καὶ μήν, and further; and moreover. // ἀλλ' οὐ . . .

(P. *ye, yet at all events; yet at least* (the same force it would have after a 30). conditional clause with *si*). The *ὅτι* is *virtually* conditional. || γνησίων . . . τῆς Ἑλλάδος. “Notanda locutio γνήσιαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, i.e. “Ελληνες ιθαγενεῖς.” Sch. || δέσπερ ἄν. Gr. 1327 (961, a) § 430, 1. || δέξιον μέρψας εἶναι . . . ἐνίναι. “Infinitivi pendent a verbis δέσπερ ἄν υπέλαβε: ‘perinde quis hoc de negotio statuat, ac si de filio familias . . . statuat, eum in hoc quidem esse reprehendendum . . . , verumtamen ideo non licere negare cett.’” Rat.

## PAGE 40.

**A** ἀλλ' οὐχ . . . οὐχ οὗτοι ἔχουσιν, are not affected in the same way; do not feel the same indignation. The negative is emphatically repeated, as in 45, 56: ἀλλ' οὐχ οὗτοι Στέφανος, οὐκ ὕκυνησε, κ.τ.λ. Ζεσχ. 3, 194: ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος, ὁ παλαιὸς ἑκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημογοκώταρος γεγονόναι, οὐχ οὗτος. F. || οὐδὲ Βαρβάρους ἐντεῦθεν θεῖν, κ.τ.λ. = οὐδὲν βαρβάρους ἐντεῦθεν ὅντος θεῖν (τινά) εἰπεῖν εἶναι καλόν ἔστι, nor even a barbarian from a country which it is reputable for a man to state that he comes from; unless we consider θεῖν to be attracted (for οὐ, ubi) to the form of ἐντεῦθεν, and to be virtually = ‘which:’ from a country which it is reputable to name. || δλέθρου, i. e. δλέθριου, perditū (cf. 18, 127, δλέθρος γραμματεύς. 23, 202, ἀνθρώπους οὐδὲ δλέθριους, ἀλλ' δλέθρους). || Μακεδόνες. “A good-for-nothing Macedonian, δλέθρος Μακεδών, an expression often borrowed by the later sophists from Demosthenes. The kings of Macedonia are called ‘barbarians’ and ‘men destined to serve the Greeks’ in the 3rd Olympiac. The claim of the Greeks themselves to a descent from Héraclès (Hercules) was recognized by the Hellanodicea at the Olympic games (Hdt. v. 22, with Valckenär's notes). This pedigree is also admitted unhesitatingly by Isocrates (Oratio ad Phil. c. 12). Cf. Libanius, 4th part, p. 283, 16. Of the worthlessness of Macedonian slaves we have no evidence beyond what is here stated. Macedonia is never mentioned as one of the countries from which slaves were obtained, a circumstance to which the Macedonians might well refer as being a credit rather than a disgrace to their nation.” J.

## § 6. [§ 32, p. 119.]

**6** κοινὴν . . . δγῆνα. “Concerning the right of the Amphictyons to the presidency at the Pythian games, see Tittmann, p. 109. This privilege was expressly guaranteed to Philip (Diodor. 16, 20) at a meeting held in the third year of the 118th Olympiad, and was the first step towards his assumption (Ol. 110, 3) of the rank of Captain-general of Greece (Diodor. 16, 20).” J. || τοὺς δούλους, his slaves, as he contemptuously calls his Macedonian nobles. || εἰς Πορθμόν. “Porthmos, the castle of Eretria in Eubœa, on the Euripus, opposite Athens. The walls of this fortress were demolished by Philip, Ol. 109, 1. In the Orat. de Cor. § 25, 1, Demosthenes mentions the same occurrence, and takes credit for his opposition to the incroachments of the king ‘when he directed his attention to Eubœa, and

made it a bulwark against Athens, ventured to attack Megara, took (P. possession of Oreos, destroyed Porthmos, and established Philistides 40). as a tyrant in Oreos, and Clitarchus in Eretria.' Cf. Or. de Fals. Leg. p. 368, 24." J. || ἀλλ' ὅμεις ταῦθ' δράντες . . . ἀνέγορται. Observe the ὅμεις prefixed to the participle, though it more immediately belongs to ἀνέγορται (the participle being resolved adversatively), though they see, yet notwithstanding this they, &c. Cf. Gr. 1126, o. § 697, o; and cf. 52, 15: ὅμως καὶ τε πολεῖς ἔχων τούτοις οὐκ ἴστόμα. *Aesch.* 3, 88: ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς τοιάντα πεπονθότες πάλιν διεβασθε κρός αὐτούς. *Liv.* 21, 56, 10: "tamen in tot circumstantibus malis manis aliquamdi immota aies." F. || καθ' ἁυτούδε, ε.τ.λ. JN. γενίσθαι καθ' ἐντούς. || ἐφ' οἷς ή Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται . . . ἀμύνεται, i. e. ἀμύνεται τοι τούτοις & η Ἑλλ. ὑβρίζεται.—ἐφ' οἷς = in iis robis; as in the Or. contr. Aristocr. 190: τὸ δ' ἐφ' οἷς μέγα πρᾶγμα ἀλιστελές τῇ πόλει κατεσκευάζετο, ἵναγιούσθαι, ε.τ.λ. = "in his aduersari, in quibus," &c.

'Αιμφρακίαν . . . καὶ Δευκάδα. For an account of Leucas and Ambracia, see above, note on p. 141, c. J. || Ναύπακτον. "Naupactus (now Lepanto) was situated on the northern coast of the gulf of Corinth. In ancient times the city had belonged to the Locrians, and subsequently to the Messenian emigrants, who had settled there after the conquest of their own country. These Messenians were expelled by the victorious Lacedemonians after the battle of Egospotamos (Pausanias, 5, 26, 2. 10, 38, 10). This city, with Calydon and Dyme, afterwards fell into the hands of the Achaeans (Diodor. 15, 75), to the great disgust of the Aetolians, who had long wished to possess it (Xen. Hist. Gr. 4, 6, 14)." J. || Ἐξίον. [It was a city founded by Theban colonists in the south of Thessaly, on the north coast of the *Sinus Maliacus*. Wst.] "A city called Echinos is mentioned by Stephanus Byz. as situated in Acarnania. Harpocration also speaks of it, but says nothing of its position. As Philip took it from the Thebans, it could not have been very distant from Boeotia. Cf. Polyb. 17, 3, 12, where Echinos is mentioned among several Thessalian towns. Cf. also *Livy*, 33, 13, 6." J. || καὶ τὸν δὲ Βυζαντίου, ε.τ.λ. "The words, 'is he not now proceeding to attack the Byzantines?' must be understood of his intentions, which were at that time sufficiently evident, but were not carried into effect until the following year. See Krüger on Clinton's Fast. Hellen. Ol. 109, 4, p. 157." J. || συμμάχους ὄντας, sc. αὐτῷ. || οὐκ ἡμῶν. Dem. begins the sentence as if he intended to enumerate more cities than one, but breaks off and mentions but one. Cf. 24, 107: δε . . . τὰ μὲν ἀλλα τὰ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῷ γῆρᾳ βοηθοῦντας λυμαῖν. F. || βλέπομεν. "Non ἀ ποβλέποντα, quod esset auxilium expectantium (cf. 4, 7, 14, 15), sed βλέποντα, quod h. i. suspiciosarum est, timentium, ne quid alter alteri præscripat (cf. § 36, A)." F. || τὰ οἰσθε, . . . τὰ ποιεῖσθαι; There is a similar emphatic repetition of the propos. in the Or. de Cor. § 240 [§ 102, my ed.]. Cf. 18, 240: τὰ δὲ οἰσθε, εἰ τότε . . . κατίστη, τὰ ποιεῖσθαι η τὰ λίγιαν τοὺς ἀσθεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτεστοι; F. || καθ' ἡνα ἡμῶν, ε.τ.λ. JN. ἀπειδάν γίνεται κύριος ἱκαστου ημῶν καθ' ἡνα. Cf. Ol. 2, § 24: σισώκαται

(P. .... καθ' ἵνα αὐτῶν ἁκαστον ἐν μέρει (= σεσάκ. ἁκαστ. αὐτῶν καθ' 40). ἵνα).

## § 7. [§ 36, p. 120.]

7 οὐ .. ἀνευ .. δικαιαστίας, non sine gravi causa (not without some good reason; some sufficient cause). || οὔτε νῦν, sc. ἔχοντι. || ἦν τι τότε, ἦν, 1, 19: "fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani. Cic. Manil. 12, 32." F. || ἀλευθέραν (i. q. ἐν ἀλευθερίᾳ s. δι' ἀλευθερίας) ἥγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα: "ita ducebat s. educabatur (moderabatur) Graeciam, ut libera maneret" (F.): i.e. the ἀλευθέραν is proleptic. Gr. 643 (523) § 439, 2. || ναυμαχίας . . . . ἤττατο. Observe, it is the sentiment that is not defeated in any battle; and the loss (ἀπολωλός) of the sentiment which throws all into confusion. On the gen. cf. Gr. 838 (690) § 504. || λαλήσαντας is, of course, 3rd sing., the ν being radical. || ἄνω καὶ κάτω πενούμενα. The full form, ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω, and the colloquial form, ἄνω κάτω, also occur. Cf. Ol. 2, note, p. 49 of my ed. || τί εὖν ἦν τοῦτο; and what, then, was this principle? || χαλεπέστατος ἦν, it was a terrible thing (i. e. from its consequences).

## PAGE 41.

A τυμφρίδια μεγίστη, such as death, *ἀρμία*, confiscation of property, a fine amounting to ten times the bribe received, &c. The same laws, it is true, were still in existence; but the patriotic spirit which caused them to be fully acted upon was extinct, and thus the law comparatively a dead letter. || τὸν καιρὸν ἁκάστον τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐν . . . . οὐκ ἦν πρίσαθεν, κ.τ.λ., there was no buying from the orators, nor yet from the generals, those favorable conjunctures [lit. that right season, or that favorable opportunity, with respect to each operation], &c. In every plan or operation there will be some one or more critical moment, when an attack or measure would be successful. Such favorable moments occur, and befriend even the indolent; but when these, as they occur, are sold to the enemy, then the indolent and inattentive have no hope, since even what Fortune offers is rendered useless. || δωτερὴ δὲ ἀγορᾶς λατέραται, "tangam e foro dividenda sunt, ita ut jam forum (respublica) his mercibus vacuum habeatur." F. || ἀν δραδούῃ, as Philocrates did. || τούτοις, neuter. || ὅτα . . . ἕργηται, are the inseparable attendants of bribery [lit. "quod pendet ex corruptelis." V.].

B ἐνειλ., κ.τ.λ. This particle, with the sentence it introduces, refers to a suppressed thought, such as—the reason I have assigned must be the true one; for it cannot be, for instance, the weakness of the state, since, &c. Gr. 1468, d (948). || επεράτων, i. e. δικαιεῖται καὶ πενίεται (4, 40). F. || χρημάτων may be almost equally well connected with either πλῆθος or ἀφθονία. F. connects it with ἀφθονία. || τῷ τότε, i. e. ἡ τοιούτη τότε, in the time of the Persian war. F.

## § 8. [§ 41, p. 121.]

8 δηλ. δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει. This is nearly a standing formula in the orators for stating what they are going to prove: e. g. in calling upon

the scribe to *read* passages in proof of what the orator had just (P. advanced. Thus de Cor. § 13, c : ὅτι δὲ οὔτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι, 41). κ.τ.λ. Such a notion as ἵνα εἰδῆτε may be supplied before it. *Wst.* || τὸ τοῖς ἀνωθεν χρόνοις ἀνωθεν, traced upwards from the present to the past. || τάνατος is here adverbial, to be connected with εἰχεν : = ἴναντίως εἰχεν. || γράμματα (*literæ*) = γράμματα δημόσια, answering to our records. The names of traitors were engraved on a pillar of brass. || εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, in the Acropolis. On the omission of the article, cf. Gr. 682 (551).

γένες. “Solenus est in hac formula articuli omisio. Sintenis ad c Plut. Peric. p. 43.” F. || εἶτα = and then. Gr. 1467 (extr.). || τὸν χρωστὸν, κ.τ.λ. “This instance of severity in the case of Arthimius, which is also mentioned by Plutarch (Life of Themistoc. c. 6), is again commended by Demosthenes (Or. de Fals. Leg. p. 427), where the words of the inscription are thus paraphrased, ‘because he brought the gold of the barbarians to the Greeks.’ Aeschines, however (Or. c. Ctesiph. § 65, A), turns them against Demosthenes, when he accuses him of having sold himself to the Persians. The pillar with this inscription was set up in the Acropolis, on the right of the statue of Athéné, which was made out of the Persian spoils.” J. In this sense χρυσίον is more common. But so Aesch. 3, 258. || τίς .. ποθε. Gr. 1346, § 872, 2, a. || ἀξίωμα, = φρόνημα. || βασιλέως. Gr. 673 (543) § 447, obs. || ἄτιμος cannot, of course, refer to the loss of his civil rights, since he could not have any such in Athens. The sense in which it is to be understood, is explained by Dem. himself just below.

οὐτωσι, in the usual sense, i. e. so, in the sense we attach to the word when we hear it. || τί γάρ τῷ Ζεκέτῃ ... εἰ ... (nearly = ὅτι) ἀμελλαν ; κ.τ.λ., for what was it to the Zeelite that, i. e. what did it concern this Zeelite that (L.). || Αθηναῖον is dependent gen. The nom. would be τὰ Αθηναῖον κοινά, the (common) rights of Athenian citizens. The argument, as it proceeds, rather suggests than states the difference : the meaning is, the infamy meant is not that by which an Athenian is punished, when deprived of his civil rights, but that which is understood when the law, in certain cases of murder, says, *let him die infamous*, or *in infamy*; that is, it is to be allowed to *any man to slay him with impunity*. Hence some old grammarians explained ἄτιμος here by ἀτιμωρητος. || ὃνδερ ἐν ἀν μὴ διδῷ, sc. δ νομοθέτης.—Υπὲρ ὧν = ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὑπὲρ ὧν : “super iis, pro quibus (interfectis) non permisit capitie causam instituere (in interfectores). 23, 41 : ἐάν δ' ξῶ τούτων κτείνῃ τις αὐτὸν ἀλλοδί που, τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δίκην δέδωκεν, ήν περ ἀν τὸν Αθηναῖον κτείνῃ. Ceterum δικάζεσθαι δίκην litigantem est, δικάζειν δίκην judicis.” F. || καὶ ἄτ. “The words ‘and let him die as infamous,’ are the words of the law, the remainder (ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀν μὴ διδῷ, κ.τ.λ.) being merely a reference to the general sense of the statute, which treats of cases where the manslayer is not liable to an indictment for murder.” J. || φησί, sc. δ νομοθέτης. This verb is often added pleonastically after εἰπε, γέγραπται, &c. Cf. Aesch. 3, 127 : καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι . . . γράφει· τὸν ἱερομνήμονα, φησί, τῶν Αθηναῖων . . . μὴ μετέχειν. Ib. 110 : γέγραπται γάρ οὔτως ἐν τῇ ἀρᾳ· εἰ τις τάδε,

Phil. Dem.

(P. φησὶ, παραβαίνοι . . . ἴναγῆς, φησὶν, ἔστω, κ.τ.λ. F. || τεθνάτω,  
 41) the perf. imperative, denotes the *immediate* and *full* completion of  
 the action. || καθαρόν, *free from blood-guiltiness*. || λέγει, . . . εἴραι.  
 Gr. 1092 (831, b). || μη τούθ' ὑπολ., i. e. εἰ μη τούθ' ὑπελάμβανον.  
 F. || ἐκόλαφον . . . ἀτυμῷ. “Hoc ad poenam legibus debitam, illud  
 ad castigationem emendationemque peccantium refertur.” Heindorf.  
 ad Plat. Protag. § 40.” F. || οὐδὲ αἰσθαντο, sc. ὄντοντον καὶ δια-  
 φθείροντας. On the opt. cf. Gr. 1251 (924) § 831, 4, a. || ὕστε καὶ  
 στ. π.: ὥστε ἐγγράψαι τὰ δύομάτα αὐτῶν ἐν στήλαις ὡς κακούγων  
 καὶ καταδικασθέντων. Wolf.

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A οὐ γάρ οὗτος ἔχει ὑμές, sc. τὴν διδούσαν.

## § 9. [§ 47, p. 123.]

9 οὗτι, *there is*, i. e. there is circulated, used, or the like. || ὡς ἄρα,  
*how that*, &c. Gr. 1149, e (1046) § 788, 5. || τοτὲ ἦσαν, in the days  
 of their Hegemony. || ὑφίστατο αὐτούς, *withstood them*. Gr. 935  
 (741) § 584, 1, obs. 1 || ἀνηράσθη. “Αναρπάζειν, funditus per-  
 dere, pessum dare, ut si arborem radicis humo evellas.” Rot. Cf.  
 Aesch. 3, 133: Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγέιτων, μεθ' ἡμίραν μίαν  
 ἐκ μίσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρασται. F. || ὡς ἔνος εἰσών. Gr. 1513, j.  
 § 693, d.

B τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, *the art of war*. || πρῶτον μέν. “His respondent  
 οὖτω δὲ ἀρχαῖος.” F. || ἀκούω, *I have heard*. Gr. 776, g (614, d)  
 § 396. || τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῆν, (*lit. the fine season itself* =) *just during*  
 the *season of fine weather*: i. e. in the summer months, which, how-  
 ever, would be really, as Wst. observes, seven or eight months. Cf. 56, 30: ἵπτανθα δὲ πειδημήσαντες παραχειμάζειν ἔδει καὶ περι-  
 μένειν τὴν ὥραιαν. F. The time mentioned is the space *within*  
 which the invasions took place: no one invasion lasted more than  
 forty days. Wst. || ἀν . . . ἀναχωρέιν = ἀνεχώρουν ἀν, *would*  
*retire; used to retire*. Gr. 786 (630) § 424, b. The ἀν is placed after  
 the participle, because it also in some measure modifies the participle  
 in the same way: *they would invade and ravage the country, and*  
*then withdraw their forces*. || οὐτε ἀρχαῖος εἶχον, *they were so old-  
 fashioned* (*he speaks in praise of the simplicity of the good old  
 time*).—πολιτικῶς, *so like honest citizens*. || ὕστε . . . ἀνεῖθας . . .  
 οὐδέν, *as to purchase no advantage*, &c. “Non capiontes bellum  
 sed belligerantes Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique.” Enn.  
 || ἀκούετε . . . ΦΙΛ. . . . βαθύτοτα. Gr. 1110 (843) § 684, ii. || τῷ  
 φάλαγγῃ, κ.τ.λ. Amongst the Macedonians, as well as the Greeks  
 generally, the Hoplites were the main strength of the army. The  
 Macedonian *phalanx* was a military *invention* of Philip's.

C ξίνος. “By the introduction of mercenary troops, a total change  
 was effected in the military as well as the political condition of Greece.  
 ‘At this time,’ says Isocrates, ‘it were easier to raise an army of  
 exiles than an army of citizens.’” J. || ἐνηργήσθαι τι = “aliquid

*a se suspensum habere;*" to have any thing hung to him, hence to drag (P. any thing about after him. On the acc. cf. 910 (719) § 584, 2. || την 42). τούτους, πρότερα. F. || δι' ἀπιστίαν, sc. τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. || σωτῆρι θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει. Gr. 1404 (1011) § 898, 2. On the omission of the art. (just as in our *summer and winter*), cf. Gr. 677 (547).—οὐδὲν διαφέρει, sc. αὐτῷ. || εὐήθειαν, simplicity. || ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι: ἐκτραχηλίζειν, to throw over his head (said of a plunging or rearing horse); hence pass. to break one's neck, to be ruined. || ὡς ἐκ πλεστοῦ, as long before as possible. On the order cf. Gr. 981 (776, b). So Liv. 26, 24, 1: "so in maiore futuros honore." || τοῖς πράγμασι, in your policy; by your political measures. These datives are to be connected with σοκοῦντας. F. || διπλαὶς . . . κινήστεται. Gr. 1313 (954) § 811.

οὐχί, sc. διτ. || συμπλακόντας, lit. implicatos. Cf. Ol. 2, p. 11, d: διπειδάν δὲ διμορος πόλεμος συμπλακῆ. F. "Quoniam vos tanto Fortuna indigne, Latini, Implicatis bello?" V. Ξεν. 11, 109. || πρὸς μὲν . . . εἰς δέ, 3, 1: ἐγώ δ', ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζω τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα χαλεπὸν τῷ πόλει, τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα τὸν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου δύσιον ἀν συμβάντα. Διὰ τί; "Οτι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ἀπανταῖς ἀναγκαῖς ἥγονται τριήρων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τόπων δεῖσθαι, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἀφονώτερα εἶχοντα ήμων εἰνρίσκων τοὺς δὲ ἀγῶνας οὐδενὸς οὕτω τῶν ἀλλών δρῶν δεομένους ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἄγαθῶν, τούτους δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν κινδυνεύοντο πλείονς ἀπάρχειν νομίζω. F. || πόλεμον . . . ἀγόνα. "We find the same antithesis between 'combat' and 'war' in the Oratio de Symm. p. 180, 14." J. || ἡ φύσις τῆς ἐκ. χέρας. This is one instance of the many advantages the Athenians would have; to which the ἀλλα μυρία is appended *asyndicetally*. What is the difference between μύριος and μυρίος! || τις . . . πολλήν. Gr. 856, c, extr. (706) § 442, c. || ἔγειν καὶ φέρειν, to ravage and lay waste. Gr. Syn. 96.

## § 10. [§ 53, p. 124.]

εὖδε. "Adverte Greecorum consuetudinem in talibus enuntiationibus adverbiū μόνον soli priori membro sic tribuentium, ut etiam ad posterius pertineat. Schaf." Cf. de Cor. § 1, a (extr.). || τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοΐᾳ, a ratione et animo. F. || μισῆσαι, odium concipere; μισεῖν, odise. F.

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μή τι δαιμ., "ne qui malus genius rempublicam agiet, i.e. transversam agat, in perniciem det." F. "It was an old saying, that when the gods wished to destroy a wicked person, they deprived him of understanding, and thus made him the instrument of his own ruin. In accordance with this notion Euripides says,

ὅταν γάρ δργῇ δαιμόνων θλάπτῃ τινά,  
τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρώτον, ἐξαφαιρεῖται φρενῶν  
τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἑσθλόν, εἰς δὲ τὴν χειρῶν τρίπει  
γνώμην ἵν' εἰδῆ μηδὲν ὡν ἀμαρτάνει.

This opinion seems to have been general among the writers of antiquity, who were wont to attribute to divine influence the in-

(P. fatuation of those, whose moral blindness was in reality the effect of 43). their own sinfulness. ‘Quippe ita se res habet, ut plerumque ejus fortunam mutatur est deus, consilia corrumpat, officiatque, quod miserrimum est, ut quod accidit, id etiam merito accidisse videatur, et casus in culpam transeat. Vellej. Patrc. ii. 57.’ We are reminded here of a passage in the ‘Clouds’ of Aristophanes (v. 1458), cited by Ruhnken, in which those goddesses, when charged by Strepsiades with having occasioned his misfortunes, reply,

‘Tis not for us to warn a wilful sinner ;  
We stay him not, but let him run his course,  
‘Till, by misfortunes roused, his conscience wakes,  
And prompts him to appease th’ offended gods.’

*Cumberland’s Translation.*

There is a similar sentiment in Aesch. Orat. c. Ctesiph. § 41, a, where he enumerates the divine judgements of that period. ‘Thebes in a single day lost her place among the nations of Greece, and deservedly too, for she was ever careless of the general weal ; yet the judgement which befell her was not the work of man, but a visitation of divine vengeance (*θεοβλάβεια* [*a judicial blindness*]), and the result of her own infatuation.’ J. || σκύμματος. 23, 206 : ὑμεῖς τοὺς τὰ μέγιστ’ ἀδικοῦντας καὶ φανερῶς ἔξελεγχομένους, ἀν̄ ἐν̄ ἡ δόσι ἀστεία εἴπωσιν, ἀφίει. F. || τυχῆτε, sc. κελεύοντες. || οὐδὲ ἀρνηθεῖεν . . . ὁς οὐκ. Gr. 1177 (884) § 750, 2, obs. 4. || ὁς οὐκ εἰσὶ, i. e. μὴ εἰναι τοιούτοι. Cf. on de Chers. p. 27, D : ως οὐδὲ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ’ ἔστιν οὐχ ἔχετε ἀντιλέγειν. || οὐχὶ πω τοῦτο δεινόν, κ.τ.λ. Cf. de Chers. § 6, c. || ἀλλά, i. e. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δεινότατόν εἰσιν, ὅτι κ.τ.λ.

§ 11. [§ 56, p. 125.]

11. ἥσταν . . . Φιλίππου, were creatures of Philip, were in the interest of B Philip. (L.)—ἥσταν τοῦ βελτίστου, were for the good cause; had the true interests of their country at heart. Liv. 23, 14, med. : “plebs novarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis tota esse.” F. || τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρ., of those who were at the head of affairs. || θτως. Gr. 1313 (954) § 811. || πότεροι δή, jam utri. F. || τοὺς Ιππέας, κ.τ.λ. “Five hundred Olynthian knights, who had been formerly commanded by Apollonides, an Athenian citizen, were delivered up to the king, with their arms in their hands, through the treachery of Lasthenes. Demosth. Or. de Fals. Leg. p. 246, 16.” J.

§ 12. [§ 57, p. 125.]

12. παρὰ τούτους . . . ἀλλοι δ’ οὐδαμοῦ. See above, οὐ γράφει μὲν c ταῦτα τοῖς δ’ ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, p. 39, c, extr. || ἀπαλλαγέντος, after the departure (which was really the *expulsion*) of Plutarchus and the foreign troops. The partcp. agrees with the nearest substantive. || Πλουτάρχου. “In Ol. 106, 3, Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria, being hard pressed by Clitarchus (who was supported by the troops of Philip), applied to the Athenians for assistance. This application was seconded by Midias, a friend of the tyrant, and resisted by Demosthenes ; but, in spite of the orator’s opposition, Phocion was sent to Euboea, Ol. 106, 4. ‘Phocion,’ says his biographer (Vit. Phocion.

c. 12), ‘found the island full of traitors, and expelled the tyrants (P. from Eretria, probably as a punishment for some act of treason of 43), which they had been convicted. After the expulsion of these tyrants, the inhabitants of Eretria divided themselves into two parties, the Macedonian and the Athenian. The former of these having gained the upper hand, Philip took possession of the city.’ In Ol. 109, 3, Philip’s protégé, Clitarchus, declared war against Athens, and was expelled from Eubœa (Diodor. 16, 74). See also n. p. 142, b, to the present Oration.” *J.* || τὸν Πορθμόν, a stronghold in the district of Eretria. || ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἤγεν τὰ πρ., “*ad eos res (rempublicam) trahabant*, i.e. ‘vestris partibus studebant volebantque vobiscum consociari.’” *B.* || τούτων = *the latter*. || τελευτῶντες = *at last*. Gr. 1121 (852) § 696, obs. || καὶ γάρ τοι, *etiam profecto*. Klotz. || οἵδη βουλεμένους, i.e. the popular party in Eretria, who wish to throw off the yoke of their tyrants by entering into an alliance with Athens.

## § 13. [§ 59, p. 126.]

τί δεῖ . . . ἀλλ’. See above, top of p. 39, καὶ τι δεῖ, κ.τ.λ. 13 || ἔπραττε Φιλίππον, *acted for Philip*; (*was the agent for Philip*. L.) D 19, 77: δὴ Θηβαῖοις τὰ πράγματα πράττει. Sch. || δικαστ . . . δικαιαὶ, dpt on ἔπραττε (*id agerat, ut*). Gr. 1313 (954) § 811. || τὰ μὲν ἀλλα. Jn. ὡς οὐδος τὰ μὲν ἀλλα ὑβρίζετο.—τὰ ἀλλα opposed to the throwing him in prison (below), which was itself a ὑβρις. || ὑβρίζετο καὶ προεπ. (πολλὰ γὰρ ὑβρισται καὶ προεπηλακισται, 22, 58), *was insulted and trampled upon* (Br.); the first denotes the genus (*injuria*), the second the species (*contumelia*). F. || πρότ. τῆς ἀλ. = πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως. 42, 2: δυοῖν ἡ τροσιν ἡμίραις πρότερον τῆς εἰς τὸ δικαιοτήριον εἰσόδου. Aesch. 1, 12: μὴ πρότερον ἡλίου ἀνιόντος. F. || συστραφίντες, *conspira-* (Rak.), i. q. συστάγμες. Cf. 23, 170: συστραφίντων τοῦ τε Βηρισάδον καὶ τοῦ Ἀμαδόκου. Aesch. 2, 177: οὐδον νῦν ἐπ' ἐμὲ συστραφίντες ἤκουσι, F. || χορηγόν, *paymaster; the supplier of their funds*. Cf. 19, 216: Φιλίππῳ χορηγῷ χρώμενος. Cf. Aesch. 1, 54. 2, 79. F. || πρινανεύμενοι, i. q. διοικούμενοι (*Harpoor*). Cf. de Pac. § 2, d (line 1).

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ἀποτυμπωνίσαι. Cf. p. 127, 11, b. || ἐπιτίθεσιν, *idoneum*, i.e. a dignum (cf. Kritz. ad Sall. Cat. 51, 27). Dem. 23, 57: πολλὰ γὰρ ἄν τις ἴδοι πολλοὺς ἐπιγέδειους ὅντας πάσχειν καὶ πεπονθέναι. Cf. Aesch. 3, 230. F. || ἐπέχαιρεν, sc. αὐτῷ ὑβρίζομένῳ, *delectabatur ejus calamitatis*. Cf. 21, 134: ἀλλὰ σοι ἐπέχαιρον. “Ἐπιχαιρεῖν et ἐφῆδεσθαι gaudere ob aliquid, συνήδεσθαι τινα una gaudere ob aliquid, qualecumque sit ob quod gaudeas. Schæf. (ad Eur. Med. Porson, p. 26.) F. I have shown, in a note on de Coron., that (with respect to *συνήδεσθαι*) this is a necessary limitation of the distinction given in Liddell and Scott. || ἐπ’ ἄξ. ἐπόστης, i. e. ἐφ’ ὁπόστης (v. ad § 25): “*in tanta libertate quanta volebant (with all the freedom they desired; in perfect freedom)*.” F. || βῆκας φωνήν, *rumpere vocem*. V. Forbig. ad Virg.

(P. *An.* 2, 129 (*F.*) : *bursting*, as it were, the chains that bound their 44). *|| διασκευασάμενοι*, in battle array; in order of battle; lit. having disposed their forces.

B οὔτως. Jn. οὕτως ἀλούσης, the αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς defining the manner meant (not οὕτως αἰσχρῶς). || τοὺς . . . δύτας τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος. Cf. p. 18, c. *F.* || τότε, when accused by Euphraeus. || καὶ τὸν Εὐφρ. . . δύτας, “paratus aduersum Euphratum omnia facere (cf. Terent. Phorm. 2, 3, 80). Cf. § 13, D [οὔτος] sq.” *F.* || ἀπέραφεν δαυτόν. Gr. 730 (586, c) § 363, 4. || καθαρῶς, from pure motives; conscientiously.

§ 14. [§ 63, p. 127.]

14 αἴτιον . . . τό. See above, n. p. 127, top. || πρὸς τοὺς . . . ¶ τούς. Gr. 1436, § 650. || ὅπερ = ταῦτα ὅπερ.

c δύτηρ τοῦ βελτίστου. Cf. above, § 11. || τὰ πράγματ', *salus et libertas patrie*. B. The state, as comprehending all the affairs of the nation. *Wat.* || οἱ δέ, but they, i. e. those who speak in Philip's interest. || ἐν αἴτοις οἱ, ε.τ.λ. Jn. συμπάττονται Φελίππῳ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ χαριζούται, “in his ipsius rebus, quibus gratificantur, sc. vobis gratiam cum vobis inuenit.” || εἰσήρεν ἐκλευον, understand of μὲν (οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγοντες) : an omission which is readily implied by the antithetical structure of the clause. The speaker omits this οἱ μὲν, because he identifies himself with this party, and wishes to speak of them especially. Cf. de Cor. § 121 [§ 56 my ed.]: οὐδὲν αἰσχύνη φθόνον δίκην εἰσάγειν, καὶ νόμον μεταποιῶν, τῶν δὲ ἀφαιρῶν μέρον. *Wat.* Cf. Liv. 3, 37, extr.: “et iam ne tergo quidem abstinabatur: virgis cædi, alii securi subjici.” *F.* || οἵ δυκατελήφθησαν, sc. τὴν εἰρήνην, till they were taken in the toils; he speaks of the peace as of a net spread out to catch them. || οἱ οἱ χαριζούται, not ea quae dilecuntur, as *F.* translates, but ea quibus gratiam cum vobis inueni crant. He does not speak of it as a motive, but as a certain result of the advice they gave. || τὰ τελευταῖα, at last (the καὶ does not belong to these words). [*F.* “multa et quidem postrema (i. e. quæ postremo prodiderunt”).] || οὐχ οὔτε, i. e. not in the manner that I have described; not from these causes or motives. [*Wat.* says, οὐχ οὔτως, sc. ὥστε σωθῆσθαι : and Schæf., “pro ἀλλά exspectes ὡς. Sed ita saepius Græci. Non multum differt οὐ μᾶλλον δλλά.”] || προσίνετο, properly *ad se admittebant*; allowed them to happen; let them take their chance. || ὑποκετακλινόμενοι (boying themselves, as it were, before the force of circumstances), from yielding to circumstances.

D τοὺς δλοις 1, 3: *in summa re*. *F.* || μηδὲν ἐν ὑμῖν ἔνον, that there is nothing more for you to do. || μὴ γένοντο . . . τὰ πράγματ' ἐν τούτῃ, may it never come to this. || δέ, but if it does; in that case. Cf. Cic. de Offic. 1, 31, 113: “*At Ajax, quo animo traditur, milites oppere mortem potius, quam illa perpeti maluisset.*” *F.* || καλήν γ, the γε strengthens the irony which καλήν itself possesses. B. || Δασθένη . . . Ἀπολλωνίδην. Cf. above, n. on § 11 (extr.). On the other hand, Hypereides says (Rhett. Gr. ed. Walz. 9, 547) of

Επιθυμήσας, γενέρενος ἵσταρχος τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱστίας πρόδημος (P. Φελίκηφ. Wst. 44).

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*μανία, contrario. ἡ τὸ τοιόντε. sc. as those do who put themselves in the power of Philip. ἡ βασιλεύσαντος, sc. τούς (v. 2, 5). “Infinite loquens Atheniensis significat.” Cf. § 73. F. ἡ μῆδ’ ἀν δημονὸν ἡ δευτὲν νόσονθε = ὅστε μὴ πεισθῶσθαι δημονὸν μῆδ’ ἀν δημονὸν γ, let even what may happen; that happens what may, they shall suffer no evil. Cf. 19, 321: ὑπερχώσανται τέ ὡς μῆδ’ ἀν δημονὸν ἡ πειθῶσσατ. ταῦτα μῆδ’, and again. Gr. 1482, (1053, 1) § 728, c. ἡ τὸς γέρ. Gr. 1456, g. § 872. The first γέρ gives the reason for the expression of surprise that belongs to the speech generally [why, who would have thought . . . ?]; the other, that for the substance of the question, the οὐκ εἰδῆμα. Wst. | γενέθηται. Gr. 1067 (830) § 405, obs. 2. τὸ ταῦτα τὸ. Gr. 699 (562), § 444, 5, b. | πρεσβύτερο, i.e. πρεσβύτερον, “*qua sensu mediū usus est legitimus.*” Sch. | σύζηται, i.e. οὖν γ. F.*

ταῦτα νοοῦται καὶ πειθῶσσατ ταῦτα δῆμος (“aliquae omnes deinceps sectores”); Gr. 677 (547). ταῦτα = and so. | ἀντράπειρα. Μεσ. 3, 158: ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς περιθίας τοῦτο εἰς Σαλαμῖνα περιθείσαντος νόμον ἔθεσθε, λέν τοις αὐτοῖς ἄστον ἐν τῷ πάρη πλοίον ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὲν ἐξίνειαν πάλιν περιθή γενεσθαι. F. ἀντράπη, sc. τοῦ στάθμου. F. | ταῦτα δῆμος, i.q. οὗτοι ταῖς ἡμέραις. F. | δῆμορα, § 43, 4, 3. F. | ταῦτα, “recte possum ἀν, quod simulatus interpongas appareret: πάλαι τοι, τέλιος ἀν ἴσος, πρωτότονος πειθῶσσατ. Supplendum est enim δημοτονία τοῦτο τοῦτον.” Herm. | ταῦτα γράψοι δέ, and will also draw ἀπ in the form of a regular proportion. | οὕτω . . . χαροποιήσετε, so that, if you choose, you will adopt it by your vote.

τοῦτα = ἡττι παρεπειθείσαρβα. | τοῦτα τοῦτα διδάσκονται. Cf. c. 1128 (859). | εἰ δὲ μῆδ’. Gr. 1464, g, § 860, 5. | χρόνος = διετρέματος. | πρὸς δῆμον, who, as being a man, and that a single individual, is exposed every day to the casualties that may terminate his existence; the life of an individual opposed to the abiding well-consolidated strength of a state, συνεπιθύμητο πάλαις. | τοῦτο, sc. τὸ χρόνον ἡττούντος τοῖς πράγμασιν. | εἰ τέρ. πρ. Olymp. 109, 2, sc. ἀχρεότεος ἐγένετο. F.—Οἱ 109, 2, sc. 343. Dem. was at the head of these, Μεσ. 3, 97.—πρεσβύτεια, pl. because they visited several of the Peloponnesian states. | πειθηρία can hardly be the true reading. Various corrections have been attempted, ταῦτα Ἀκαρναίας (Wieland), ταῦτα Ἀρμενίας (Droste), ταῦτα Ἡραίας (Sauppe); for Philip's invasion of Epirus, and his attempt on Ambracia, had taken place a little before this. It also appears that he had sent aid to Acarnania (48, 24).—Krüger would refer ἀπ to πρεσβύτεια only, as the more important, though more remote, notion; others suppose a τὸ δια δημον., so that πρεσβύτεια καὶ πειθῆ = orationes legationes. | Πολεμεός of Sphēticos, a friend of Demosthenes, and warmly devoted to the popular party. | δικαιούστης δικαιωτικός, for he was present in the assembly.

(P. Ἡγῆσις τος. Cf. de Cor. § 28. || οὐ . . . παρακαλέν = οὐ λέγω (τινάς) 45). αὐτοὺς μὴ ἰθέλοντας ποιεῖν τι ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλεῖν δ τοὺς ἀλλούς. Wst. || συγκαλέν, ε.τ.λ. “Συγκαλεῖν in universum est invitare; si invitatio nihil efficerit, συνάγειν, quod fortius est, instantis et urgentis; διδάσκειν, edocere de vera rerum conditione iisque quae inde consecutura sint; νουθετεῖν, eductos oratione et momentorum gravitate ad factum compellere.” Br. Cf. 8, 76. F.

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<sup>A</sup> Χαλκιδ. . . . τῇ Μεγαρ., spoken with contempt. Wst. || ὅμαις δ<sup>ο</sup> ἀνεῳδρ. Cf. 19, 331: εἰτ' οἴεσθι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὕτω γιγνώσκειν, τὸν δὲ Φιλιππὸν οὐχ οὕτως; Cf. ad § 9. F. || τὰ πράγματα, the trouble of attending to public business. || ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, sc. ἐκτίνοις, it is enough for them if —; they are satisfied if —, &c. || τοῦτο τὸ γέρας, the honorable distinction of being the greater defenders of Grecian independence. || δι βούλεται, and not what the public good requires of him. || οὐδὲ μή ποθ' εὑρῃ, he will not even find. Gr. 797 (633) § 748.

§ 15. [§ 76, p. 132.]

15 μὲν δῆ. Gr. 1479 (1053, i) § 721, 1.

## LIST OF THE MORE DIFFICULT WORDS AND PHRASES.

[A prefixed numeral indicates the section in which the word or phrase occurs.—A prefixed asterisk means that, in the passage referred to, the word occurs in a peculiar sense.]

## Philipp. I.

2 ἐπιτεχίσματα	4 ἐπάγγαγος	5 παρακύπτειν
*τὰ κατέφρασματα	ἴξαγγέλλειν	εἰκότως
*πράγματα	προχειρίσασθαι	ἐπόκτης
ἀποστροφή	μὴ μοι (without verb)	παρακαταστῆσαι
προσπειριβάλλεται	ἐπιστολιμαῖος	*γέλως
περιστοιχίζεται	τροφή	αἱ πομπαὶ
ἐπιστῆναι	ἐκ διάδοχῆς	ἱεροποιοί
3 εἰς δύον	ἀποχρῆν	6 περαίνω
τοῦ λοιποῦ	5 λροτευειν	σιτηρίσιον
ἴκαγγέλλεσθαι	τὴν πρώτην	ἀφορμή

2 προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν = προσέχειν τὴν γνῶμην πρός τινα. συνελόντες δὲ ἀπλῶς. ὑμῶν αὐτῶν—γενέσθαι. πάλιν ἀγαλήψεσθαι. οἱ —ἀσιλγείας. μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων. ἀπηρτημένοις γνώμαις. 3 ὑπάρχειν ἰθέλοντας. ἔλεγχον δεῖναι. 4 ἀφύλακτος λαμβάνομαι. 5 οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πτηλίους. 6 μικρόν τι πρός.

6 ἐγνωκέναι	9 χορηγός	10 ἀπεγνωκέναι
προστορίζεσθαι	γυμνασίαρχος	ὑποσχίειθαι
8 *φυλάξαι (χειμῶνα)	ἀντίδοσις	ἀπόμισθαι
βοηθεῖαι	10 προβάλλεσθαι	11 ἀνδραποδίστης
ὑστερίζειν	συμπαραθεῖν	λωτοδυντής
χειμαδίψ	ἀκμή	διασπῆν
9 γέγραφα	ἐγχωρεῖ	λόγους πλάττειν
δάχλος	δημοσίᾳ	δνειροπολεῖν
παρασκευή	ἴκαλέσαι	προαιρεῖσθαι

8 πρὸς τῷ γῇ γενίσθαι. 9 ἄγων καὶ φέρων. 10 τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεσθαι. τεθνάναι τῷ δέει. 11 κρίνεσθαι περὶ θανάτου. ἐπ' ἀδήλους οὐσὶ τοῖς γενησομένοις. ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεῖσθαι.

## De Pace.

1 προίσθαι	2 διοικήειν	4 ἐφεδρος
προύργους	3 δεινότης	ἄχρι τῆς ἵσης
δύσκολος	ἀλάζονεία	ἐπικηρυκεία
θορυβεῖν	ἐπαναφέρειν	ἰκδύχεσθαι
τὰ προειμένα	προΐκα	*ἄγειν πόλεμον
2 λυσιτελεῖν	ἐπὶ θάτερα	προστησάμενοι
λήματα	4 σύνταξις	ἐπισπάσασθαι
αἱ ἐπορίαι	ἀναλογίης	ἐρήσθαι λέγω
*φανέρος	ἐφερεύειν	κατάγειν

1 δυσκολίαν ἔχειν. 2 διοικεῖν Φιλίππῳ. 3 οἶχεται φέρον. 5 περὶ τῆς ἐν Δέλφοις σκιᾶς.

## Philipp. II.

1 ἀνταίρειν	4 συμβάλλειν	7 ἔκγονοι
2 παρεστήσεναι	προσδόκιμος	ἔγγονοι
οἱ θαρροῦντες	συντάττειν	ἄλλως
προστίθεσθαι	ἴστετηκέναι	τὰ νυνὶ
τὰ ἥθη	5 ἱκπίπτειν	τὰ πολλά
ἐναντιοῦσθαι	πραθεῖς	συνίστασθαι
τὰ τινι γιγνόμενα	Πύλαία	
ώς ἑτέρως	7 ὑπότροπος	

1 ώς ἕπος εἰπεῖν. 2 πρὸς πλεονεκίαν ἐξετάζων τι. ταῦτα ὑπειληφώς. ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις. 4 \*ὑπόπτως ἔχειν τινά. ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. 6 θορυβοῦσιν ώς δρθῶς λέγεται. 7 οἱ ὑπὸ χείρα μάλιστα. τὴν δργήν ἀφίέναι.

## De Rebus Cher.

1 ἀφελεῖν	3 κατασκευάζειν	6 διάγειν
ἰσχυρίζεσθαι	4 συνενυπορεῖν	πινάκιον
2 συσκευάζεσθαι	οἰκείως	εἰσαγγελία
εληφούχος	εὐθενεῖν	Πάραλος
περιόπτειν	εὐθηνεῖν	ἐπηρεάζειν
*κατάγειν (πλοῖα)	εὐθενεῖν	ἐπήρεια
διαλύειν	6 *τιμᾶσθαι	θορυβεῖν
προσοφλισκάνειν	παραπίμεσθαι	*πρᾶγμα
3 τὰ νῦν	εὐνοῖαι	τρυφῆν
παρασκευάζειν	προσαιτεῖν	κολακεύεσθαι

1 ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔστιν. ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι. 2 οὐδενὸς ἡγγον.  
πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπὶ τὰς δικαίους. δύναμις συνεστηκύια.  
5 οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. 6 λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοὺς νόμοις. δεινὸν δυ οὐ δεινόν  
ἴστιν. παρεσκευάκασιν ὑμᾶς φοβερούς.

6 ἀπογενέσθαι	7 ἐξ Ἰσον
τίπιειχίσας	10 διαδικασία
δῆλον δτι	11 ἀποτυμπανίσατ
κινήσομαι	πλεονεξία
7 παρένται	τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης
ὅλως	12 φιλανθρωπίαι
ἐνοχλεῖν	τραμῶς
ἀργῶς	14 ἐπανορθοῦν
ταμίας	

7 τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔδαφος. τὰ νῦν συμβεβιασμένα. οὐδὲ πολλοῦ  
δεῖ. 8 ποτὶ ἀναδυόμεθα; 9 λόγος ἐμπίπτει. ἐπὶ πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι.  
ἀγανακτῶ εἰ. 11 τὴν ὥντινα ἀφονία. 14 τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι.  
τοῖς πράγμασι χρῆσθε.

### Philipp. III.

1 δλίγου δεῖν	8 *γρδμματα	τρυγανευόμενος
*ἔμελλε	ἀξίωμα	ἀποτυμπανίσαι
*πολιτεῖαι	οὐτωσί	ἐπιχαίρειν
2 *πράτειν	9 τὰ τοῦ πολέμου	ἴφῆδεσθαι
προβάλλειν	*ἄκονω	συνήδεσθαι; τινι
οὐ διαφέρομαι	ἀρχαίως ἔχειν	ρῆξαι φωνήν
3 λυσιτεῖν	πολιτικῶς	διασκευασμένος
4 ἀφεστηκέναι	ἴξητησθαι τι	*καθαρῶς
5 λωποδεύειν	εὐήθεια	14 ἐγκατεληθῆναι
λσχυσα	ἴετραχλισθῆναι	προσίεσθαι
5 *πλεονάζειν	συμπλακείς	ὑποκαταελιγμε-
*πιπολάζω	10 θεοβλάβεια	νος
*χωρεῖν	11 εἰναὶ τινος	ἀνατρέπειν
συστῆναι	13 συστραφέντες	συγκαλεῖν
*δλεθρος	*χορηγός	ἀγαπητόν

1 οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν δυτες. 4 μετέχειν τῶν λογισμῶν. 5 μέγας  
ηὖηται. τριάκοντα ἐνδὲ δίοντα. διορωρύγμεθα κατὰ πόλεις. ὕσπερ  
περιόδος ἡ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ. 7 δνω καὶ κάτω. ὕσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς  
ἐπείπραται. 8 ἵν τοῖς ἀνωθεν χρόνοις. 9 την ὥραιαν αὐτήν.  
14 ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστον.

T A B L E  
OF THE  
LIFE AND TIMES OF ÆSCHINES AND  
DEMOSTHENES.

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
389			—	ÆSCHINES born.
388	97.4	Antipater.	—	
382*	99.3	Evander or Menander.	—	DEMOSTHENES born, about July, 382.— The Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with Amyntas, king of Macedonia, make war upon Olynthus, and send an army thither, under Phœbidas, in the spring of 382. He takes the Cadmea on his way, for which he is recalled, and Teleutias is sent to take his place, in the spring of 381.
381	99.4	{ Demo- philus.	2	Teleutias is conquered and slain before midsummer, and Agesipolis sent out to take the command.
380			3	Agesipolis dies in midsummer (380), and is succeeded by Polybiades, who takes Olynthus and unites it to the Peloponnesian confederacy, in the spring of 379.
379	100.1	Pytheas.		
378	100.2	Nicon.	4	The Cadmea recovered by the Theban exiles under Pelopidas. Cleombrotus sent out by the Spartan government to reduce the Thebans to subjection again. He returns without succeeding, and leaves Sphodrias in command, who makes an unsuccessful attempt upon the Piræus, which arouses Athens and certain other allies to unite with the Thebans in carrying on what was called the Boeotian war against the Lacedæmonians. Agesilaus is sent to Boeotia, with a large army, during the summer of 378.
378	100.3	{ Nausini- cus.	5	Agesilaus, after some indecisive battles, returns to Sparta, leaving Phœbidas in

\* The Attic year commenced in July; hence, according to our mode of reckoning, it included about a half of each of two years.

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
				command, who is conquered and slain by the Thebans. Agesilaus returns, in the spring of 377, and conquers the Thebans at Tanagra. On his way home he falls sick.
377 376	100.4	Callias.	6	Cleombrotus is again sent out to Boeotia, but with no better success than before.
376 375	101.1	{ Chari- sander.	7	Chabrias conquers the Lacedæmonian fleet at Naxos (Sept. 376), and Timotheus, after having taken Corecyra and other Lacedæmonian islands and cities, gains another naval victory over them at Alyzia, in June, 375, which restores the naval supremacy to Athens.—Demosthenes left an orphan.
375 374	101.2	{ Hippo- damas or Hippo- damus.	8	The Lacedæmonians are overcome by the Thebans at Tegyra, in the summer of 375, and Cleombrotus is sent to their aid. This increases the pride of the Thebans and awakens the jealousy of the Athenians, so that they make peace with the Lacedæmonians, and recall Timotheus from Thrace, where he had reduced several cities to subjection to Athens.
374 373	101.3	Socratides.	9	Timotheus, on his way home, stops at Zacynthus (in the summer of 374), to reinstate a band of exiles, who had been banished by the oligarchical government of the place, which leads to a renewal of the war between Athens and Sparta. In the mean time the Thebans destroy Platæa (in the summer of 374), and soon after Thespiae and Orchomenus (the latter not till 364). Timotheus is sent to oppose Mnasippus in Corecyra, but, before he sails, is superseded by Iphicrates, who has Callistratus and Chabrias as colleagues.
373 372	101.4	Asteius.	10	Iphicrates reaches Corecyra in the summer of 373, just as Mnasippus had been slain, and carries on the war successfully against Sparta. In the autumn of the same year, Timotheus is tried and acquitted, and leaves to join the king of Persia in the spring of 372.

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
372 371	102.1	{ Alcisia- thenes.	11	The Athenians, indignant at the course of the Thebans towards the Boeotian towns, propose a peace with the Lacedaemonians, which is concluded (July, 371) in a common council at Sparta, which the Thebans also attended, but would not sign the treaty, because it required, not only that each of the belligerent parties should disband their forces, but should acknowledge the independence of all the other Grecian cities (they were not willing to acknowledge the independence of the Boeotian towns).
371 370	102.2	{ Phrasii- clides.	12	Cleombrotus is ordered to move from Phocis upon Boeotia, where, twenty days after the peace, he encounters the Thebans under Epaminondas, and is overcome in the famous battle of Leuctra, which gave the Thebans the supremacy of Greece.—Megalopolis founded and Mantinea restored by the aid of the Thebans, to be the rivals of Lacedaemon in the Peloponnesus.
370 369	102.3	{ Dyscin- thus.	13	Agesilaus is sent into Arcadia (in the winter of 370) to check the spirit of independence which seemed to be rising there, but returns without having accomplished much. In the same winter, while Pelopidas was assisting the Thessalians against the Macedonians, the Thebans, under Epaminondas, make an expedition into the Peloponnesus to assist their friends there against Agesilaus; but, not meeting him, they invade Laconia and remain there three months. After this they restore Messenia, and return home in the beginning of 369, having been hurried home by the pressure of want and the forces sent by Athens to aid the Lacedaemonians, under Iphicrates. After the Thebans withdraw, the Athenians complete a treaty with the Lacedaemonians against Thebes.
369 368	102.4	{ Lysis- tratus.	14	The Thebans again enter the Peloponnesus; but, as the Lacedaemonians receive aid from Dionysius, they return

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
<u>356</u> 355	106.1	Elpines.	27	Iphicrates and Timotheus are sent out with a fleet of sixty ships to join Chares in reducing to obedience the rebellious allies, but are soon after removed from their office, on the accusation of Chares, for refusing to engage the enemy in a storm. Soon after this, Chares, destitute of means to support his fleet, leaves for Asia, and assists Artabazus against the king, in order to replenish his military chest. The Athenians, learning that the king, indignant at this conduct of Chares, was about to send aid to the rebellious allies, make peace with the confederates in the summer of 355.—Philip suppresses the designs of the Thracians, Paeonians, and Illyrians to unite their efforts against him.—Demosthenes makes his speeches against Androtion and Leptines.
<u>355</u> 354	106.2	{ Callistratus.	28	The Social or Phocian War, carried on by the Locrians and Thebans since 356, becomes a general war, and engages most of the Grecian states.—Philip seems to have invaded, during this year, the islands of Imbros, Scyros, and Lemnos.
<u>354</u> 353	106.3	Diotimus.	29	Philomelus, the Phocian general, severely beaten by the Thebans, and apprehending that he should not long survive, delivers up the command to his brother Onomarchus.—Demosthenes commences his political career by delivering his oration <i>Περὶ Συμμορίων</i> , in which he dissuades the Athenians from undertaking a war against the king of Persia.—In the spring of 353, Philip lays siege to the Macedonian city Methone, which was in alliance with Athens.
<u>353</u> 352	106.4	Eudemus.	30	Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagasee and Magnesia in Thessaly, whether he had been invited by the Thessalians to expel the tyrants of Pherse and their allies, the Phocians. After succeeding in part, he is repulsed, but, immediately returning with

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
352 351	107.1	{ Aristodemus.	31	a larger army, he effects their complete expulsion, and, in order to transfer the war to Phocia, attempts to pass Thermopylae, but is prevented by the Athenians (in the spring or summer of 352).—Demosthenes delivers his orations against Timocrates and for the Megalopolitans.
351	107.2	Thessalus.	32	War of Lacedæmon and Megalopolis.—Demosthenes (summer of 352) delivers his first Philippic, in order to stir up the Athenians to prosecute the war against Philip more vigorously.—Philip, repulsed from Thermopylae, enters Thrace and lays siege to Herseum, in order to open the way to Byzantium.—Demosthenes delivers his oration against Aristocrates.
350	107.3	/ Apollo-dorus.	33	Demosthenes delivers his speech for the Rhodians.
350 349	107.3	/ Apollo-dorus.	33	While Philip is still occupied in Thrace, Phocion conducts an expedition to Eubœa, in aid of Plutarchus, against the tyrant Clitarchus, and, in the end, ejects Plutarchus for his treacherous conduct.—Demosthenes <i>χορηγός</i> in this year, and delivers his orations against Boeotus and Phormio.
349 348	107.4	{ Callima-chus.	34	The Olynthians, who had made peace with the Athenians in 352, threatened with war by Philip, send ambassadors to Athens for aid. Three embassies are sent during the year, either by Olynthus or the Chalcidian towns, and as many armaments sent out by Athens, the first under Chares, the second under Charidemus, and the third of citizen soldiers. It was on these three different occasions that Demosthenes delivered his three Olynthias.
348 347	108.1	{ Theophilus.	35	Philip, having taken most of the Chalcidian towns, takes Olynthus, in the spring of 347.—Demosthenes delivers his oration against Midias.
347 346	108.2	{ Themistocles.	36	The Athenians, having endeavoured in vain to arouse the other Greeks to unite with them in prosecuting the war

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
346 345	108.3	Archias.	37	<p>against Philip, and learning that he was desirous of peace, send to him the first embassy (<i>περι εἰρήνης</i>) to negotiate for a peace, which returns early in 346. Philip consents to a peace, but improves the time before it is formally made in taking certain northern possessions of Athens. Peace and alliance with Philip are voted at Athens on the 19th of Elaphebolion (March 18th, 346), and on the 22d a second embassy is appointed to obtain the ratification of the treaty from Philip. In the mean time, the ambassadors of the allies which are at Athens (but the Phocians and Cersobleptes had no ambassadors present) sign the treaty, and, as the ambassadors still remain in the city, Demosthenes procures the passage of a decree directing them to perform the embassy with all despatch. Still they do not leave Athens till the 9th of the following month (Munichion), and from various unnecessary delays, by which Philip gets in readiness to pass Thermopylae in order to finish the Phocian War before the peace is concluded, do not return till about three months from the time of their appointment (Scirophorion 13). About fourteen days after their arrival at Athens, Philip, having passed Thermopylae and hastened into Phocis, takes possession of the Phocian towns, which is announced at Athens by Dercyllus, who, with others, had lately been sent on an embassy to Philip. The Athenians receive the news with indignation, but refrain from declaring war.</p> <p>Thus the Phocian War is brought to a close, after ten years. At a meeting of the Amphictyonic Council, convoked by Philip in the autumn of 346, but which the Athenians, indignant at the course of Philip, refuse to attend, Phocis is doomed to destruction, and Philip elected to fill its place in the</p>

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
345 344	108.4	Eubulus.	38	council. Subsequently the Athenians, when visited by ambassadors from Philip (among whom was Python) and the Thessalians, for the purpose of obtaining their approbation of the measures of the council, at the instance of Demosthenes ( <i>Orat. de Pace</i> ), acquiesce in them and keep the peace. Philip subdues the rebellious Illyrians ; enters Thessaly to quiet intestine troubles ; and, in order to reduce it to a greater state of obedience, divides it into tetrarchies, each to be governed by ten men appointed by himself.—AESCHINES delivers his speech <i>κατὰ Τιμάροχον</i> , being in his 45th year.
344 343	109.1	Lysicus.	39	Philip, having sent aid and encouragement to the Argives and Messenians, that they might make war upon Lacedaemon, and even being upon the point of going to their aid in person, Demosthenes is sent as an ambassador into the Peloponnesus to frustrate his designs.—Demosthenes delivers his second Philippic, on occasion of certain complaints being made against them by Philip and his friends in the Peloponnesus, advising a renewal of the war with Philip. But the Athenians first send an embassy to him, requiring, as a condition of continuing the peace, that he should restore to them and the other states of Greece the places which he had taken during the peace. He promised only the restoration of Halonesus.
343 342	109.2	{ Pytho- dorus.	40	Philip is frustrated in his attempts upon Megaris by Phocion ; also in Ambracia and Acarnania, by a force despatched thither, and by an embassy, of which Demosthenes was a member, who visited both Ambracia and the Peloponnesus, every where stirring up the Greeks to resist Philip.—Philip attempts to establish tyrants in Eubœa, to the prejudice of Athens. Demosthenes avails himself of the public indignation excited by this event

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
342 341	109.3	Sosigenes.	41	against Philip and his friends, to prosecute Æschines for treason, on the second embassy to Philip (Orat. de Falsa Legatione). Orations of Demosthenes and Æschines, <i>περὶ Παραπομβίας</i> : Æschines being assisted by the influence of Eubulus. In the spring of 342, Philip leaves for Thrace, upon what is commonly called his Scythian expedition, and sends ambassadors to Athens complaining of the course of Diopeithes in disturbing his interests and possessions in Thrace, and again offering them Halonesus. Demosthenes, Hegesippus (author of the oration on Halonesus), and others, advise the Athenians not to take as a gift what is their own by right.
341 340	109.4	{ Nicoma-chus.	42	In the winter of 341, while Philip was passing his tenth month in Thrace, Demosthenes delivers his oration on the Chersonesus, which arouses the Athenians to send ambassadors to Philip, and also to Diopeithes, in order to endeavour to save Cersobleptes and the Chersonesus. They succeed in saving the country, but Cersobleptes is conquered by Philip, and driven from his kingdom to Athens. Philip finally succeeds in establishing the tyrants Clitarchus and Philistides in Eretria and Oreus, having obtained possession of Porthmus through the dissensions of the Euboeans. It was at this time that Demosthenes delivered his third Philippic.
340 339	110.1	{ Theo-phrastus.	43	At the instance of Demosthenes, an expedition, under Phocion, is sent into Eubœa to expel the tyrants, and succeeds; for which Demosthenes is publicly crowned by a bill proposed by Aristonicus.—Philip besieges Selymbria.
				Philip attacks Perinthus, and lays siege to Byzantium.—Philip ravages the Chersonesus.—The bill of Demosthenes, reforming the triarchy, is passed.—Æschines sent as Pylagoras

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
339 338	110.2	{ Lysimachides.	44	to the Amphictyonic Council ; procures the passage of the decree against the Locrians of Amphiissæ, which leads to the Amphictyonic war.
338 337	110.3	{ Chaeronias.	45	The siege of Byzantium being still continued, the Athenians are at length induced by Demosthenes, after the peace had continued ten years, to vote that Philip had violated the peace, and send to the aid of the Olynthians forces under Chares, and afterwards under Phocion, by which Philip was compelled to raise the siege both of Byzantium and Perinthus. The command of the Amphictyonic war is given to Philip, and he takes Elateia in Scironiorion (June, B.C. 338), just before the passage of the decree of Demosthenes for negotiating an alliance with Thebes.
336 335 335 334	111.1	{ Pythodemus.	47	Embassy of Demosthenes to Thebes, where he succeeds in adding the Thebans to the other allies which he had gained within a few years past for resisting Philip.—Battle of Chaeronæ, August, B.C. 338.—Ctesiphon proposes to crown Demosthenes, October, B.C. 338.—Æschines lodges his accusation against Ctesiphon with the archon in the following March (B.C. 337), at which time Demosthenes was repairer of the walls of Athens and treasurer of the Theoric fund. Philip makes an expedition into the Peloponnesus.
334 333	111.2	Eusenetus.	48	Murder of Philip, and accession of Alexander at the age of twenty.
334 333	111.3	Ctesicles.	49	Revolt of Thebes and its destruction by Alexander. The Athenian orators demanded by Alexander.
330 329	112.3	{ Aristophon.	53	Alexander leaves Greece on an expedition to the East, on which he is absent till his death, in B.C. 323. Æschines brings on the prosecution of Ctesiphon. The cause was <i>early</i> in the year, for Æschines had not heard of the death of Darius.—Æschines withdrew to Asia ; resided at Rhodes, and

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
<u>324</u>				taught eloquence there after the death of Alexander.
<u>323</u>	114.1	Hegesias.	59	Demosthenes tried for taking a bribe of Harpalus, a refugee from Alexander, is condemned, and retires to Trœzene and Ægina.
<u>323</u>		{ Cephalo- dorus.	60	Demosthenes, in banishment, joins the embassy sent out from Athens to stir up the Greeks to another effort to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and, when it has completed its circuit, is recalled to Athens.
<u>322</u>		Philocles.	61	This effort at resistance proving unsuccessful, Demosthenes is pursued by the agents of Antipater, governor of Macedonia during the absence of Alexander in the East, and being overtaken in the temple of Poseidōn, in the island of Calaurea, puts an end to his life by poison.
<u>314</u>	116.3	Nicodorus.	—	Death of Æschines (if he lived to the age of seventy-five).
<u>313</u>				

**A COMPARISON**  
 OF  
**THE SECTIONS OF THIS EDITION**  
**WITH THE SECTIONS USUALLY ADOPTED, AND WITH THE**  
**PAGES OF REISKE.**

Sections of this edition.	Sections of other editions.	Pages of Reiske.	Sections of this edition.	Sections of other editions.	Pages of Reiske.
<b>First Philippic (Or. 4.)</b>			<b>De Rebus Chersonesi (Or. 8).</b>		
1	1	40	1	1	90
2	2—12	40	2	4	91
3	13	43	3	13	93
4	16	44	4	19	94
5	23	45	5	21	95
6	28	47	6	24	96
7	30	48	7	38	99
8	31	48	8	48	101
9	33	49	9	52	102
10	38	51	10	56	103
11	47	53	11	61	104
12			12	68	106
			13	73	108
			14	76	108
<b>Oratio de Pace (Or. 5).</b>			<b>Third Philippic (Or. 9).</b>		
1	1	57	1	1	110
2	4	57	2	8	112
3	11	59	3	10	113
4	13	60	4	15	114
5	24	63	5	21	118
			6	32	119
<b>Second Philippic (Or. 6).</b>			7	36	120
			8	41	121
1	1	65	9	47	123
2	6	67	10	53	124
3	13	69	11	56	125
4	14	69	12	57	125
5	20	71	13	59	126
6	26	72	14	63	127
7	28	72	15	76	132

The Orations of Demosthenes are usually referred to by numbers; the number denoting the position of the Oration in the editions of Dem.—The following table will enable the student to determine any Oration referred to by a number.—The Orations whose titles are enclosed in crotchetts are thought not to be genuine.

1. Ὁλυνθιακὸς α'.	36. παραγραφὴ ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος.
2. Ὁλυνθιακὸς β'.	37. παραγραφὴ πρὸς Πανταίνετον.
3. Ὁλυνθιακὸς γ'.	38. παραγραφὴ πρὸς Ναυσίμαχον καὶ Ξενοποτίθην.
4. κατὰ Φιλίππου α'.	39. πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ δυδματος.
5. περὶ εἰρήνης.	40. πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ προικὸς μητρίας.
6. κατὰ Φιλίππου β'.	41. πρὸς Σπρουδίαν ὑπὲρ προεκός.
7. περὶ Ἀλονῆσου.	42. πρὸς Φαινιττικον περὶ ἀντιδόσεως.]
8. περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερδονήσῳ.	43. πρὸς Μακάριταν περὶ Ἀγνίου εὐλήρουν.
9. κατὰ Φιλίππου γ'.	44. πρὸς Δεωχάρη.]
[10. κατὰ Φιλίππου δ'.]	45. κατὰ Στρέφανου ψευδομαρτυρῶν α']
[11. πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν Φιλίππου.]	46. κατὰ Στρέφανου ψευδομαρτυρῶν β']
[12. ἐπιστολὴ Φιλίππου.]	47. κατὰ Εὐέργειον καὶ Μηνοιβόλου ψευδομαρτυριῶν.]
[13. περὶ συντάξεως.]	48. κατὰ Ὁλυμπιοδώρου βλάβης.
14. περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν.	49. πρὸς Τιμόθεον ὑπὲρ χρέως.]
15. περὶ τῆς Ῥοδίων ἐλευθερίας.	50. πρὸς Παλυκλία περὶ τοῦ τριηραρχῆματος.
16. ὑπὲρ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν.	51. περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς τριηραρχίας.]
[17. περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν.]	52. πρὸς Κάλεππον.
18. ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου.	53. πρὸς Νικόστρατον περὶ τῶν Αρεθουσίου ἀνδραπόδων.
19. περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας.	54. κατὰ Κόνωνος αἰκίας.
20. περὶ τῆς ἀτελείας πρὸς Δετίην.	55. πρὸς Καλλιελέα περὶ χωρίου.
21. κατὰ Μειδίου περὶ τοῦ κονδύλου.	56. κατὰ Διονυσοδώρου βλάβης.
22. κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος παρανόμων.	57. ἔφεσις πρὸς Εἴβουλιδην.
23. κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους.	58. ἐνδεῖξις κατὰ Θεοκρίνου.]
24. κατὰ Τιμοκράτους.	59. κατὰ Νεαίρας.]
[25. κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος α']	60. ἐπιτάφιος.]
[26. κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος β'].	61. ἱωτικός.]
27. κατὰ Ἀφόβου ἐπιτροπῆς.	62. προσίμια δημηγορικά.]
28. κατὰ Ἀφόβου β'.	63. ἐπιστολαῖ.]
[29. πρὸς Ἀφοβον ψευδομαρτυρῶν.]	
30. πρὸς Ὄνητροα ἔξονλης α'.	
31. πρὸς Ὄνητροα ἔξονλης β'.	
32. πρὸς Ζηνόθεμιν παραγραφῆ.	
33. πρὸς Ἀπατούρου παραγραφῆ.	
34. πρὸς Φορμίωνα περὶ δανείου.	
35. πρὸς τὴν Δακρίτον παραγραφῆ.	

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